Hudibras

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CHARLES THE FIRST.

HUDIBRAS.

BY

SAMUEL BUTLER.

WITH

NOTES AND A LITERARY MEMOIR

BY THE

REV. TREADWAY RUSSEL NASH, D. D.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS, AND CONTAINING
A NEW AND COMPLETE INDEX.

"Non deerunt fortasse vitilitigatores, qui calumnientur, partim leviores esse nugas, quam ut theologum deceant, partim mordaciores, quam ut Christianæ conveniant modestiæ." *Erasm. Moriæ. Encom. Præfat.*

NEW-YORK:
D. APPLETON & COMPANY,
443 & 445 BROADWAY.
1865.

ADVERTISEMENT *

Little or no apology need be offered to the Public for presenting it with a new edition of Hudibras; the poem ranks too high in English literature not to be welcomed if it appear in a correct text, legible type, and on good paper: ever since its first appearance it has been as a mirror in which an Englishman might have seen his face without becoming, Narcissus-like, enamored of it; such an honest looking-glass must ever be valuable, if there be worth in the aphorism of *nosce teipsum*. May it not in the present times be as useful as in any that are past? Perhaps even in this enlightened age a little self-examination may be wholesome; a man will take a glance of recognition of himself if there be a glass in the room, and it may happen that some indication of the nascent symptoms of the wrinkles of treason, of the crows-feet of fanaticism, of the drawn-down mouth of hypocrisy, or of the superfluous hairs of self-conceit, may startle the till then unconscious possessor of such germs of vice, and afford to his honester qualities an opportunity of stifling them ere they start forth in their native hideousness, and so, perchance, help to avert the repetition of the evil times the poet satirizes, which, in whatever point they are viewed, stand a blot in the annals of Britain.

The edition in three quarto volumes of Hudibras, edited by Dr. Nash† in 1793, has become a book of high

* Prefixed to the Edition in 2 vols. 8vo. 1835.

† "*January* 26, 1811.—At his seat at Bevere, near Worcester, "in his 86th year, Treadway Russel Nash, D. D., F. S. A., Rec "tor of Leigh. He was of Worcester College in Oxford; M. A "1746; B. and D. D. 1758. He was the venerable Father of the "Magistracy of the County of Worcester; of which he was an "upright and judicious member nearly fifty years; and a gentle- "man of profound erudition and critical knowledge in the seve- "ral branches of literature: particularly the History of his na- "tive county, which he illustrated with indefatigable labor and "expense to himself. In exemplary prudence, moderation, affa- "bility, and unostentatious manner of living, he has left no su

price and uncommon occurrence. It may justly be called a scholar's edition, although the Editor thus modestly speaks of his annotations: "The principal, if not "the sole view, of the annotations now offered to the "public, hath been to remove these difficulties, (fluctua- "tions of language, disuse of customs, &c.,) and point "out some of the passages in the Greek and Roman "authors to which the poet alludes, in order to render "Hudibras more intelligible to persons of the commenta- "tor's level, men of middling capacity, and limited in- "formation. To such, if his remarks shall be found "useful and acceptable, he will be content, though they "should appear trifling in the estimation of the more "learned."

Dr. Nash added plates* from designs by Hogarth and La Guerre to his edition, but it may be thought without increasing its intrinsic value. The Pencil has never successfully illustrated Hudibras; perhaps the wit, the humor, and the satire of Butler have naturally, from

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"perior; of the truth of which remark the writer of this article "could produce abundant proof from a personal intercourse of "long continuance; and which he sincerely laments has now "an end.—R."—*Gentleman's Magazine.*

* Dr. Nash thus mentions them: "The engravings in this "edition are chiefly taken from Hogarth's designs, an artist "whose genius, in some respects, was congenial to that of our "poet, though here he cannot plead the merit of originality, so "much as in some other of his works, having borrowed a great "deal from the small prints in the duodecimo edition of 1710.†

"Some plates are added from original designs, and some from "drawings by La Guerre, now in my possession, and one print "representing Oliver Cromwell's guard-room, from an excellent "picture by Dobson, very obligingly communicated by my wor- "thy friend, Robert Bromley, Esq., of Abberley-lodge, in Wor- "cestershire: the picture being seven feet long, and four high. "It is difficult to give the likenesses upon so reduced a scale, "but the artists have done themselves credit by preserving the "characters of each figure, and the features of each face more "exactly than could be expected: the picture belonged to Mr. "Walsh, the poet, and has always been called Oliver Crom- "well's guard-room: the figures are certainly portraits; but I "leave it to the critics in that line to find out the originals.

"When I first undertook this work, it was designed that the "whole should be comprised in two volumes: the first compre- "hending the poem, the second the notes, but the thickness of "the paper, and size of the type, obliged the binder to divide "each volume into two tomes; this has undesignedly increased "the number of tomes, and the price of the work." [*In this edition the notes are placed under the text.*]

† "Hogarth was born in 1698, and the edition of Hudibras, with his cuts, published 1726."

their general application, not sufficient of a local habitation and a name to be embodied by the painter's art.

To some few of the notes explanatory of phrases and words, the printer has ventured to make trifling additions, which he has placed within brackets that they may not be supposed to be Dr. Nash's, though had the excellent dictionary of the *truly* venerable Archdeacon Todd, and the Glossary of the late Archdeacon Nares, from which they are principally taken, been in existence in 1793, there can be little doubt but Dr Nash would have availed himself of them.

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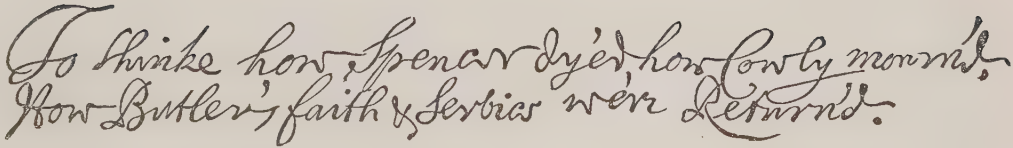
AUTOGRAPH OF SAMUEL BUTLER



ON

SAMUEL BUTLER, ESQ.,

AUTHOR OF HUDIBRAS.

The life of a retired scholar can furnish but little matter to the biographer: such was the character of Mr. Samuel Butler, author of Hudibras. His father, whose name likewise was Samuel, had an estate of his own of about ten pounds yearly, which still goes by the name of Butler's tenement: he held, likewise, an estate of three hundred pounds a year, under Sir William Russel, lord of the manor of Strensham, in Worcestershire.* He was not an ignorant farmer, but wrote a very clerk-like hand, kept the register, and managed all the business of the parish under the direction of his landlord, near whose house he lived, and from whom, very probably, he and his family received instruction and assistance. From his landlord they imbibed their principles of loyalty, as Sir William was a most zealous royalist, and spent great part of his fortune in the cause, being the only person exempted from the benefit of the treaty, when Worcester surrendered to the parliament in the year 1646. Our poet's father was churchwarden of the parish the year before his son Samuel was born, and has entered his baptism, dated February 8, 1612, with his own hand, in the parish register. He had four sons and three daughters, born at Strensham; the three daughters, and one son older than our poet, and two

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* This information came from Mr. Gresley, rector of Strensham, from the year 1706 to the year 1773, when he died, aged 100: so that he was born seven years before the poet died

sons younger: none of his descendants remain in the parish, though some of them are said to be in the neighboring villages.

Our author received his first rudiments of learning at home; he was afterwards sent to the college school at Worcester, then taught by Mr. Henry Bright,* prebendary of that cathedral, a celebrated scholar, and many years the famous master of the King's school there; one who made his business his delight; and, though in very easy circumstances, continued to teach for the sake of doing good, by benefiting the families of the neighboring gentlemen, who thought themselves happy in having their sons instructed by him.

How long Mr. Butler continued under his care is not known, but, probably, till he was fourteen years old

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* Mr. Bright is buried in the cathedral church of Worcester, near the north pillar, at the foot of the steps which lead to the choir. He was born 1562, appointed schoolmaster 1586, made prebendary 1619, died 1626. The inscription in capitals, on a mural stone, now placed in what is called the Bishop's Chapel is as follows:

Mane hospes et lege,
Magister HENRICUS BRIGHT,
Celeberrimus gymnasiarcha,
Qui scholæ regiæ istic fundatæ per totos 40 annos
summa cum laude præfuit,
Quo non alter magis sedulus fuit, scitusve, ac dexter,
in Latinis Græcis Hebraicis litteris,
feliciter edocendis:
Teste utraque academia quam instruxit affatim
numerosa plebe literaria:
Sed et totidem annis eoque amplius theologiam professus
Et hujus ecclesiæ per septennium canonicus major,
Sæpissime hic et alibi sacrum dei præconem
magno cum zelo et fructu egit.
Vir pius, doctus, integer, frugi, de republica
deque ecclesia optime meritus.
A laboribus per diu noctuque ab anno 1562
ad 1626 strenue usque exantlatis
4° Martii suaviter requievit
in Domino.

See this epitaph, written by Dr. Joseph Hall, dean of Worcester, in Fuller's Worthies, p. 177.

I have endeavored to revive the memory of this great and good teacher, wishing to excite a laudable emulation in our provincial schoolmasters; a race of men, who, if they execute their trust with abilities, industry, and in a proper manner, deserve the highest honor and patronage their country can bestow, as they have an opportunity of communicating learning, at a moderate expense, to the middle rank of gentry, without the danger of ruining their fortunes, and corrupting their morals or their health: this, though foreign to my present purpose, the respect and affection I bear to my neighbors extorted from me.

Whether he was ever entered at any university is uncertain. His biographer says he went to Cambridge, but was never matriculated: Wood, on the authority of Butler's brother, says, the poet spent six or seven years there;* but as other things are quoted from the same authority, which I believe to be false, I should very much suspect the truth of this article. Some expressions, in his works, look as if he were acquainted with the customs of Oxford. Coursing was a term peculiar to that university; see Part iii. c. ii. v. 1244.

Returning to his native country, he entered into the service of Thomas Jefferies, Esq., of Earls Croombe, who, being a very active justice of the peace, and a leading man in the business of the province, his clerk was in no mean office, but one that required a knowledge of the law and constitution of his country, and a proper behavior to men of every rank and occupation: besides, in those times, before the roads were made good, and short visits so much in fashion, every large family was a community within itself: the upper servants, or retainers, being often the younger sons of gentlemen, were treated as friends, and the whole family dined in one common hall, and had a lecturer or clerk, who, during meal times, read to them some useful or entertaining book.

Mr. Jefferies's family was of this sort, situated in a retired part of the country, surrounded by bad roads, the master of it residing constantly in Worcestershire. Here Mr. Butler had the advantage of living some time in the neighborhood of his own family and friends: and having leisure for indulging his inclinations for learning, he probably improved himself very much, not only in the abstruser branches of it, but in the polite arts: here he studied painting, in the practice of which indeed his proficiency was but moderate; for I recollect seeing at Earls Croombe, in my youth, some portraits said to be painted by him, which did him no great honor as an artist.† I have heard, lately, of a portrait of Oliver Cromwell, said to be painted by our author.

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* His residing in the neighborhood might, perhaps, occasion the idea of his having been at Cambridge.

† In his MS. Common-place book is the following observation: It is more difficult, and requires a greater mastery of art in painting, to foreshorten a figure exactly, than to draw three at their just length; so it is, in writing, to express any thing naturally and briefly, than to enlarge and dilate.

After continuing some time in this service, he was recommended to Elizabeth Countess of Kent, who lived at Wrest, in Bedfordshire. Here he enjoyed a literary retreat during great part of the civil wars, and here probably laid the groundwork of his Hudibras, as he had the benefit of a good collection of books, and the society of that living library, the learned Selden. His biographers say, he lived also in the service of Sir Samuel Luke, of Cople Hoo Farm, or Wood End, in that county, and that from him he drew the character of Hudibras:* but such a prototype was not rare in those times. We hear little more of Mr. Butler till after the Restoration: perhaps, as Mr. Selden was left executor to the Countess, his employment in her affairs might not cease at her death, though one might suspect by Butler's MSS. and Remains, that his friendship with that great man was not without interruption, for his satirical wit could not be restrained from displaying itself on some particularities in the character of that eminent scholar.

Hudibras introduced into court 1662.

Lord Dorset is said to have first introduced Hudibras to court. November 11, 1662, the author obtained an imprimatur, signed J. Berkenhead, for printing his poem; accordingly in the following year he published the first part, containing 125 pages. Sir Roger L'Estrange granted an imprimatur for the second part of Hudibras, by

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And therefore a judicious author's blots
Are more ingenious than his first free thoughts.

This, and many other passages from Butler's MSS. are inserted, not so much for their intrinsic merit, as to please those who are unwilling to lose one drop of that immortal man; as Garrick says of Shakspeare:

It is my pride, my joy, my only plan,
To lose no drop of that immortal man.

* The Lukes were an ancient family at Cople, three miles south of Bedford: in the church are many monuments to the family: an old one to the memory of Sir Walter Luke knight, one of the justices of the pleas, holden before the most excellent prince King Henry the Eighth, and dame Anna his wife: another in remembrance of Nicholas Luke, and his wife, with five sons and four daughters.

On a flat stone in the chancel is written,

Here lieth the body of George Luke, Esq.; he departed this life Feb. 10, 1732, aged 74 years, the last Luke of Wood End.

Sir Samuel Luke was a rigid Presbyterian, and not an eminent commander under Oliver Cromwell; probably did not approve of the king's trial and execution, and therefore, with other Presbyterians, both he and his father Sir Oliver were among the secluded members. See Rushworth's collections

the author of the first, November 5, 1663, and it was printed by T. R. for John Martin, 1664.

In the Mercurius Aulicus, a ministerial newspaper, from January 1, to January 8, 1662, quarto, is an advertisement saying, that "there is stolen abroad a most "false and imperfect copy of a poem called Hudibras, "without name either of printer or bookseller; the true "and perfect edition, printed by the author's original, is "sold by Richard Marriott, near St. Dunstan's Church, "in Fleet-street; that other nameless impression is a "cheat, and will but abuse the buyer, as well as the "author, whose poem deserves to have fallen into better "hands." Probably many other editions were soon after printed: but the first and second parts, with notes to both parts, were printed for J. Martin and H. Herringham, octavo, 1674. The last edition of the third part, before the author's death, was printed by the same persons in 1678: this I take to be the last copy corrected by himself, and is that from which this edition is in general printed: the third part had no notes put to it during the author's life, and who furnished them after his death is not known.

In the British Museum is the original injunction by authority, signed John Berkenhead, forbidding any printer, or other person whatsoever to print Hudibras, or any part thereof, without the consent or approbation of Samuel Butler, (or Boteler,) Esq.,* or his assignees, given at Whitehall, 10th September, 1677; copy of this injunction may be seen in the note.†

It was natural to suppose, that after the restoration, and the publication of his Hudibras, our poet should have

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* Induced by this injunction, and by the office he held as secretary to Richard earl of Carbury, lord president of Wales, I have ventured to call our poet Samuel Butler, Esq.

† CHARLES R.

Our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby strictly charge and command, that no printer, bookseller, stationer, or other person whatsoever within our kingdom of England or Ireland, do print, reprint, utter or sell, or cause to be printed, reprinted, uttered or sold, a book or poem called HUDIBRAS, or any part thereof, without the consent and approbation of Samuel Boteler, Esq., or his assignees, as they and every of them will answer the contrary at their perils. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the tenth day of September, in the year of our Lord God 1677, and in the 29th year of our reign,

By his Majesty's command,

Jo. BERKENHEAD.

Miscel. Papers, Mus. Bibl. Birch. No. 4293 Plut. 11. J. original.

appeared in public life, and have been rewarded for the eminent service his poem did the royal cause; but his innate modesty, and studious turn of mind, prevented solicitations: never having tasted the idle luxuries of life, he did not make to himself needless wants, or pine after imaginary pleasures: his fortune, indeed, was small, and so was his ambition; his integrity of life, and modest temper, rendered him contented. However, there is good authority for believing that at one time he was gratified with an order on the treasury for 300*l.*, which is said to have passed all the offices without payment of fees, and this gave him an opportunity of displaying his disinterested integrity, by conveying the entire sum immediately to a friend, in trust for the use of his creditors. Dr. Zachary Pearse,* on the authority of Mr. Lowndes of the Treasury, asserts, that Mr. Butler received from Charles the Second an annual pension of 100*l.*; add to this, he was appointed secretary to the lord president of the principality of Wales, and, about the year 1667, steward of Ludlow castle. With all this, the court was thought to have been guilty of a glaring neglect in his case, and the public were scandalized at the ingratitude. The indigent poets, who have always claimed a prescriptive right to live on the munificence of their cotemporaries, were the loudest in their remonstrances. Dryden, Oldham, and Otway, while in appearance they complained of the unrewarded merits of our author, obliquely lamented their private and particular grievances; Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κήδε' ἕκαστος;† or, as Sallust says, nulli mortalium injuriæ suæ parvæ videntur. Mr. Butler's own sense of the disappointment, and the impression it made on his spirits, are sufficiently marked by the circumstance of his having twice transcribed the following distich with some variation in his MS. common-place book:

> To think how Spenser died, how Cowley mourn'd,
> How Butler's faith and service were return'd.‡

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* See Granger's Biographical History of England, octavo, vol. iv. p. 40.

† Homer—Iliad, 19, 303.

‡ I am aware of a difficulty that may be started, that the Tragedy of Constantine the Great, to which Otway wrote the prologue, according to Giles Jacob in his poetical Register, was not acted at the Theatre Royal till 1684, four years after our poet's death, but probably he had seen the MS. or heard the thought, as both his MSS. differ somewhat from the printed copy.

In the same MS. he says, "wit is very chargeable, "and not to be maintained in its necessary expenses at "an ordinary rate: it is the worst trade in the world to "live upon, and a commodity that no man thinks he "has need of, for those who have least believe they have "most."

——— Ingenuity and wit
Do only make the owners fit
For nothing, but to be undone
Much easier than if th' had none.

Mr. Butler spent some time in France, probably when Lewis XIV. was in the height of his glory and vanity: however, neither the language nor manners of Paris were pleasing to our modest poet; some of his observations may be amusing, I shall therefore insert them in a note.* He married Mrs. Herbert: whether she was a

* "The French use so many words, upon all occasions, that if they did not cut them short in pronunciation, they would grow tedious and insufferable.

"They infinitely affect rhyme, though it becomes their language the worst in the world, and spoils the little sense they have to make room for it, and make the same syllable rhyme to itself, which is worse than metal upon metal in heraldry: they find it much easier to write plays in verse than in prose, for it is much harder to imitate nature, than any deviation from her; and prose requires a more proper and natural sense and expression than verse, that has something in the stamp and coin to answer for the alloy and want of intrinsic value. I never came among them, but the following line was in my mind:

Raucaque garrulitas, studiumque inane loquendi;

for they talk so much, they have not time to think; and if they had all the wit in the world, their tongues would run before it.

"The present king of France is building a most stately triumphal arch in memory of his victories, and the great actions which he has performed: but, if I am not mistaken, those edifices which bear that name at Rome, were not raised by the emperors whose names they bear, (such as Trajan, Titus, &c.,) but were decreed by the Senate, and built at the expense of the public; for that glory is lost, which any man designs to consecrate to himself.

"The king takes a very good course to weaken the city of Paris by adorning of it, and to render it less, by making it appear greater and more glorious; for he pulls down whole streets to make room for his palaces and public structures.

"There is nothing great or magnificent in all the country, that I have seen, but the buildings and furniture of the king's houses and the churches; all the rest is mean and paltry.

"The king is necessitated to lay heavy taxes upon his subjects in his own defence, and to keep them poor, in order to keep them quiet; for if they are suffered to enjoy any plenty, they are naturally so insolent, that they would become ungovernable, and use him as they have done his predecessors: but he has rendered himself so strong, that they have no thoughts of attempting any thing in his time.

widow, or not, is uncertain; with her he expected a considerable fortune, but, through various losses, and knavery, he found himself disappointed: to this some have attributed his severe strictures upon the professors of the law; but if his censures be properly considered, they will be found to bear hard only upon the disgraceful part of each profession, and upon false learning in general: this was a favorite subject with him, but no man had a greater regard for, or was a better judge of the worthy part of the three learned professions, or learning in general, than Mr. Butler.

How long he continued in office, as steward of Ludlow Castle, is not known; but he lived the latter part of his life in Rose-street, Covent Garden, in a studious retired manner, and died there in the year 1680.—He is said to have been buried at the expense of Mr. William Longueville, though he did not die in debt.

Some of his friends wished to have interred him in Westminster Abbey with proper solemnity; but not finding others willing to contribute to the expense, his corpse was deposited privately in the yard belonging to the church of Saint Paul's, Covent Garden, at the west end of the said yard, on the north side, under the wall of the said church, and under that wall which parts the yard from the common highway.* I have been thus particular, because, in the year 1786, when the church was repaired, a marble monument was placed on the south side of the church on the inside, by some of the parishioners, which might tend to mislead posterity as to the place of his interment: their zeal for the memory of the learned poet does them honor; but the writer of the verses seems to have mistaken the character of Mr. Butler. The inscription runs thus:

"This little monument was erected in the year 1786, "by some of the parishioners of Covent Garden, in

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"The churchmen overlook all other people as haughtily as the churches and steeples do private houses.

"The French do nothing without ostentation, and the king himself is not behind with his triumphal arches consecrated to himself, and his impress of the sun, nec pluribus impar.

"The French king having copies of the best pictures from Rome, is as a great prince wearing clothes at second hand: the king in his prodigious charge of buildings and furniture does the same thing to himself that he means to do by Paris, renders himself weaker, by endeavoring to appear the more magnificent: lets go the substance for shadow."

* See Butler's Life, printed before the small edition of Hudibras in 1710, and reprinted by Dr. Grey

" memory of the celebrated Samuel Butler, who was " buried *in this church*, A. D. 1680.

" A few plain men, to pomp and state unknown,
" O'er a poor bard have raised this humble stone,
" Whose wants alone his genius could surpass,
" Victim of zeal! the matchless Hudibras.
" What though fair freedom suffer'd in his page,
" Reader, forgive the author for the age!
" How few, alas! disdain to cringe and cant,
" When 'tis the mode to play the sycophant.
" But, oh! let all be taught, from Butler's fate,
" Who hope to make their fortunes by the great,
" That wit and pride are always dangerous things,
" And little faith is due to courts and kings."

In the year 1721, John Barber, an eminent printer, and alderman of London, erected a monument to our poet in Westminster Abbey; the inscription is as follows:

M. S.
Samuelis Butler
Qui Strenshamiæ in agro Vigorn. natus 1612,
Obiit Lond. 1680.
Vir doctus imprimis, acer, integer,
Operibus ingenii non item prædis felix.
Satyrici apud nos carminis artifex egregius,
Qui simulatæ religionis larvam detraxit
Et perduellium scelera liberrime exagitavit,
Scriptorum in suo genere primus et postremus.
Ne cui vivo deerant fere omnia
Deesset etiam mortuo tumulus
Hoc tandem posito marmore curavit
Johannes Barber civis Londinensis 1721.

On the latter part of this epitaph the ingenious Mr Samuel Wesley wrote the following lines:

While Butler, needy wretch, was yet alive,
No generous patron would a dinner give;
See him, when starved to death, and turn'd to dust,
Presented with a monumental bust.
The poet's fate is here in emblem shown,
He ask'd for bread, and he received a stone.

Soon after this monument was erected in Westminster Abbey, some persons proposed to erect one in Covent Garden church, for which Mr. Dennis wrote the following inscription:

Near this place lies interr'd
The body of Mr. Samuel Butler,
Author of Hudibras.
He was a whole species of poets in one:
Admirable in a manner
In which no one else has been tolerable:
A manner which began and ended in him,

In which he knew no guide,
And has found no followers.
Nat. 1612. Ob. 1680.

Hudibras is Mr. Butler's capital work, and though the characters, poems, thoughts, &c., published by Mr. Thyer, in two volumes octavo, are certainly written by the same masterly hand, though they abound in lively sallies of wit, and display a copious variety of erudition, yet the nature of the subjects, their not having received the author's last corrections, and many other reasons which might be given, render them less acceptable to the present taste of the public, which no longer relishes the antiquated mode of writing characters, cultivated when Butler was young, by men of genius, such as Bishop Earle and Mr. Cleveland; the volumes, however, are very useful, as they tend to illustrate many passages in Hudibras. The three small ones entitled, Posthumous Works, in Prose and Verse, by Mr. Samuel Butler, author of Hudibras, printed 1715, 1716, 1717, are all spurious, except the Pindaric ode on Duval the highwayman, and perhaps one or two of the prose pieces. As to the MSS. which after Mr. Butler's death came into the hands of Mr. Longueville, and from whence Mr. Thyer published his genuine Remains in the year 1759; what remain of them, still unpublished, are either in the hands of the ingenious Doctor Farmer, of Cambridge, or myself: for Mr. Butler's Common-place Book, mentioned by Mr. Thyer, I am indebted to the liberal and public-spirited James Massey, Esq., of Rosthern, near Knotsford, Cheshire. The poet's frequent and correct use of law-terms* is a sufficient proof that he was well versed in that science; but if further evidence were wanting. I can produce a MS. purchased of some of our poet's relations, at the Hay, in Brecknockshire: it appears to be a collection of legal cases and principles, regularly related from Lord Coke's Commentary on Littleton's Tenures: the language is Norman, or law French, and, in general, an abridgment of the above-mentioned celebrated work; for the authorities in the margin of the MS. correspond exactly with those given on the same positions in the first institute; and the subject matter contained in each particular section of Butler's legal tract, is to be found in the same numbered

* Butler is said to have been a member of Gray's-inn, and of a club with Cleveland and other wits inclined to the royal cause

section of Coke upon Littleton: the first book of the MS. likewise ends with the 84th section, which same number of sections also terminates the first institute; and the second book of the MS. is entitled by Butler, Le second livre del primer part del institutes de ley d'Engleterre. The titles of the respective chapters of the MS. also precisely agree with the titles of each chapter in Coke upon Littleton; it may, therefore, reasonably be presumed to have been compiled by Butler solely from Coke upon Littleton, with no other object than to impress strongly on his mind the sense of that author; and written in Norman, to familiarize himself with the barbarous language in which the learning of the common law of England was at that period almost uniformly expressed. The MS. is imperfect, no title existing, some leaves being torn, and is continued only to the 193d section, which is about the middle of Coke's second book of the first institute.

As another instance of the poet's great industry, I have a French dictionary, compiled and transcribed by him: thus did our ancestors, with great labor, draw truth and learning out of deep wells, whereas our modern scholars only skim the surface, and pilfer a superficial knowledge from encyclopædias and reviews. It doth not appear that he ever wrote for the stage, though I have, in his MS. Common-place book, part of an unfinished tragedy, entitled Nero.

Concerning Hudibras there is but one sentiment—it is universally allowed to be the first and last poem of its kind; the learning, wit, and humor, certainly stand unrivalled; various have been the attempts to define or describe the two last; the greatest English writers have tried in vain; Cowley,* Barrow,† Dryden,‡ Locke,§ Addison,‖ Pope,¶ and Congreve, all failed in their attempts; perhaps they are more to be felt than explained, and to be understood rather from example than precept; if any one wishes to know what wit and humor are, let him read Hudibras with attention, he will there see them displayed in the brightest colors: there is lustre resulting from the quick elucidation of an object, by

* In his Ode on Wit,—† in his Sermon against Foolish Talking and Jesting,—‡ in his Preface to an Opera called the State of Innocence,—§ Essay on Human Understanding, b. ii. c. 2.—‖ Spectator, Nos. 35 and 32.—¶ Essay concerning humor in Comedy, and Corbyn Morris's Essay on Wit, Humor, and Raillery.

a just and unexpected arrangement of it with another subject; propriety of words, and thoughts elegantly adapted to the occasion: objects which possess an affinity and congruity, or sometimes a contrast to each other, assembled with quickness and variety; in short, every ingredient of wit, or of humor, which critics have discovered on dissecting them, may be found in this poem. The reader may congratulate himself, that he is not destitute of taste to relish both, if he can read it with delight; nor would it be presumption to transfer to this capital author, Quinctilian's enthusiastic praise of a great Ancient: hunc igitur spectemus, hoc propositum sit nobis exemplum, ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit.

Hudibras is to an epic poem, what a good farce is to a tragedy: persons advanced in years generally prefer the former, having met with tragedies enough in real life; whereas the comedy, or interlude, is a relief from anxious and disgusting reflections, and suggests such playful ideas, as wanton round the heart and enliven the very features.

The hero marches out in search of adventures, to suppress those sports, and punish those trivial offences, which the vulgar among the royalists were fond of, but which the Presbyterians and Independents abhorred; and which our hero, as a magistrate of the former persuasion, thought it his duty officially to suppress. The diction is that of burlesque poetry, painting low and mean persons and things in pompous language, and a magnificent manner, or sometimes levelling sublime and pompous passages to the standard of low imagery. The principal actions of the poem are four: Hudibras's victory over Crowdero—Trulla's victory over Hudibras—Hudibras's victory over Sidrophel—and the Widow's anti-masquerade: the rest is made up of the adventures of the Bear, of the Skimmington, Hudibras's conversations with the Lawyer and Sidrophel, and his long disputations with Ralpho and the Widow. The verse consists of eight syllables, or four feet, a measure which, in unskilful hands, soon becomes tiresome, and will ever be a dangerous snare to meaner and less masterly imitators.

The Scotch, the Irish, the American Hudibras, are not worth mentioning: the translation into French, by an Englishman, is curious; it preserves the sense, but cannot keep up the humor. Prior seems to have come

nearest the original, though he is sensible of his own inferiority, and says,

> But, like poor Andrew, I advance,
> False mimic of my master's dance;
> Around the cord awhile I sprawl,
> And thence, tho' low, in earnest fall.

His Alma is neat and elegant, and his versification superior to Butler's; but his learning, knowledge, and wit, by no means equal. Prior, as Dr. Johnson says, had not Butler's exuberance of matter and variety of illustration. The spangles of wit which he could afford, he knew how to polish, but he wanted the bullion of his master. Hudibras, then, may truly be said to be the first and last satire of the kind; for if we examine Lucian's Tragopodagra, and other dialogues, the Cæsars of Julian, Seneca's Apocolocyntosis,* and some fragments of Varro, they will be found very different: the battle of the frogs and mice, commonly ascribed to Homer, and the Margites, generally allowed to be his, prove this species of poetry to be of great antiquity.

The inventor of the modern mock heroic was Alessandro Tassoni, born at Modena, 1565. His Secchia rapita, or Rape of the Bucket, is founded on the popular account of the cause of the civil war between the inhabitants of Modena and Bologna, in the time of Frederic II. This bucket was long preserved, as a trophy, in the cathedral of Modena, suspended by the chain which fastened the gate of Bologna, through which the Modenese forced their passage, and seized the prize. It is written in the ottava Rima, the solemn measure of the Italian heroic poets, has gone through many editions, and been twice translated into French: it has, indeed, considerable merit, though the reader will scarcely see Elena trasformasi in una secchia. Tassoni travelled into Spain as first secretary to Cardinal Colonna, and died, in an advanced age, in the court of Francis the First, duke of Modena: he was highly esteemed for his abilities and extensive learning; but, like Mr. Butler's, his wit was applauded, and unre-

* Or the mock deification of Claudius; a burlesque of Apotheosis or Anathanatosis. Reimarus renders it, non inter deos sed inter fatuos relatio, and quotes a proverb from Apuleius, Colocyntæ caput, for a fool. Colocynta is metaphorically put for any thing unusually large. λήμας κολοκύνταις, in the Clouds of Aristophanes, is to have the eye swelled by an obstruction as big as a gourd.

warded, as appears from a portrait of him, with a fig in his hand, under which is written the following distich:

> Dextera cur ficum quæris mea gestat inanem,
> Longi operis merces hæc fuit, Aula dedit.

The next successful imitators of the mock-heroic, have been Boileau, Garth, and Pope, whose respective works are too generally known, and too justly admired, to require, at this time, description or encomium. The Pucelle d'Orleans of Voltaire may be deemed an imitation of Hudibras, and is written in somewhat the same metre; but the latter, upon the whole, must be considered as an original species of poetry, a composition sui generis.

> Unde nil majus generatur ipso;
> Nec viget quidquam simile aut secundum.

Hudibras has been compared to the Satyre Menippée de la vertu du Catholicon d'Espagne, first published in France in the year 1593; the subject indeed is somewhat similar, a violent civil war excited by religious zeal, and many good men made the dupes of state politicians. After the death of Henry III. of France, the Duke de Mayence called together the states of the kingdom, to elect a successor, there being many pretenders to the crown; these intrigues were the foundation of the Satire of Menippée, so called from Menippus a cynic philosopher, and rough satirist, introducer of the burlesque species of dialogue. In this work are unveiled the different views and interests of the several actors in those busy scenes, who, under the pretence of public good, consulted only their private advantage, passions, and prejudices.

The book, which aims particularly at the Spanish party,* went through various editions from its first pub-

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* It is sometimes called Higuero del infierno, or the fig-tree of Hell, alluding to the violent part the Spaniards took in the civil wars of France, and in allusion to the title of Seneca's Apocolocyntosis. By this fig-tree the author perhaps means the wonderful bir or banian described by Milton.

> The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renown'd,
> But such as at this day to Indians known
> In Malabar or Decan, spreads his arms,
> Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
> The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
> About the mother tree; a pillar'd shade
> High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between.

lication to 1726, when it was printed at Ratisbone in three volumes, with copious notes and index: it is still studied by antiquaries with delight, and in its day was as much admired as Hudibras. D'Aubigné says of it, il passe pour un chef d'œuvre en son gendre, et fut lue avec une egale avidité, et avec un plaisir merveilleux par les royalistes, par les politiques, par les Huguenots et par les ligueurs de toutes les especes.*

M. de Thou's character of it is equally to its advantage. The principal author is said to be Monsieur le Roy, sometime chaplain to the Cardinal de Bourbon, whom Thuanus calls vir bonus, et a factione summè alienus.

This satire differs widely from our author's: like those of Varro, Seneca, and Julian, it is a mixture of verse and prose, and though it contains much wit, and Mr. Butler had certainly read it with attention, yet he cannot be said to imitate it: the reader will perceive that our poet had in view Don Quixote, Spenser, the Italian poets, together with the Greek and Roman classics: but very rarely, if ever, alludes to Milton, though Paradise Lost was published ten years before the third part of Hudibras.

Other sorts of burlesque have been published, such as the Carmina Macaronica, the Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum, Cotton's Travesty, &c., but these are efforts

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Mr. Ives, in his Journey from Persia, thus speaks of this wonderful vegetable: "This is the Indian sacred tree; it grows to a "prodigious height, and its branches spread a great way. The "limbs drop down fibrous, which take root, and become another "tree, united by its branches to the first, and so continue to do, "until the tree cover a great extent of ground; the arches which "those different stocks make are Gothic, like those we see in "Westminster Abbey, the stocks not being single, but appearing "as if composed of many stocks, are of a great circumference "There is a certain solemnity accompanying these trees, nor do "I remember that I was ever under the cover of any of them, "but that my mind was at the time impressed with a reverential "awe." From hence it seems, that both these authors thought Gothic architecture similar to embowered rows of trees.

The Indian fig-tree is described as of an immense size, capable of shading 800 or 1,000 men, and some of them 3,000 persons. In Mr. Marsden's History of Sumatra, the following is an account of the dimensions of a remarkable banyan-tree near Banjer, twenty miles west of Patna, in Bengal. Diameter 363 to 375 feet, circumference of its shadow at noon 1,116 feet, circumference of the several stems, (in number 50 or 60,) 911 feet.

* Henault says of this work, Peut-être que la satire Menippée ne fut guères moins utile à Henri IV. que la bataille d'Ivri: le ridicule a plus de force qu'on ne croit

of genius of no great importance. Many burlesque and satirical poems, and prose compositions, were published in France between the years 1593 and 1660, the authors of which were Rabelais,* Scarron, and others; the Cardinal is said to have severely felt the Mazarenade.

A popular song or poem has always had a wonderful effect; the following is an excellent one from Æschylus, sung at the battle of Salamis, at which he was present, and engaged in the Athenian squadron.

> ——Ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἴτε,
> ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ
> παῖδας, γυναῖκας, Θεῶν τε πατρῴων ἕδη,
> θήκας τε προγόνων· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών.
> Æsch. Persæ, 1. 400.

The ode of Callistratus is supposed to have done eminent service, by commemorating the delivery, and preventing the return of that tyranny in Athens, which was happily terminated by the death of Hipparchus, and expulsion of the Pisistratidæ; I mean a song which was sung at their feasts beginning,

> Εν μύρτου κλαδὶ τὸ ξίφος φορήσω,
> ὥσπερ Αρμοδιος κ' Αριστογείτων,
> ὅτε τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην,
> ἰσονόμους τ' Αθήνας ἐποιησάτην.

And ending,

> Αεὶ σφῶν κλέος ἔσσεται κατ' αἶαν,
> φίλταθ' Αρμόδιε κ' Αριστόγειτον,
> ὅτι τὸν τύραννον κτάνετον
> ἰσονόμους τ' Αθήνας ἐποιήσατον.

Of this song the learned Lowth says, Si post idus illas Martias e Tyrannoctonis quispiam tale aliquod carmen plebi tradidisset, inque suburram, et fori circulos, et in ora vulgi intulisset, actum profecto fuisset de partibus deque dominatione Cæsarum: plus mehercule valuisset unum Αρμοδιου μέλος quam Ciceronis Philippicæ omnes; and again, Num verendum erat ne quis tyrannidem Pisistratidarum Athenis instaurare auderet, ubi cantitaretur Σκόλιον illud Callistrati.—See also Israelitarum **Επινίκιον**, Isaiah, chapter xiv.

Of this kind was the famous Irish song called Lilli-

* [Probably a misprint. Rabelais died in 1553, and his work was first published at Lyons in 1533.]

burlero, which just before the Revolution in 1688, had such an effect, that Burnet says, "a foolish ballad was "made at that time, treating the papists, and chiefly "the Irish, in a very ridiculous manner, which had a "burthen said to be Irish words, Loro loro lilliburlero, "that made an impression on the (king's) army that "cannot be imagined by those that saw it not. The "whole army, and at last the people, both in city and "country, were singing it perpetually: and perhaps "never had so slight a thing so good an effect." Of this kind in modern days was the song of God save great George our king, and the Ca ira of Paris. Thus wonderfully did Hudibras operate in beating down the hypocrisy, and false patriotism of his time. Mr. Hayley gives a character of him in four lines with great propriety:

"Unrivall'd Butler! blest with happy skill
"To heal by comic verse each serious ill,
"By wit's strong flashes reason's light dispense,
"And laugh a frantic nation into sense."

For one great object of our poet's satire is to unmask the hypocrite, and to exhibit, in a light at once odious and ridiculous, the Presbyterians and Independents, and all other sects, which in our poet's days amounted to near two hundred, and were enemies to the King; but his further view was to banter all the false, and even all the suspicious pretences to learning that prevailed in his time, such as astrology, sympathetic medicine, alchymy, transfusion of blood, trifling experimental philosophy, fortune-telling, incredible relations of travellers, false wit, and injudicious affectation of ornament to be found in the poets, romance writers, &c.; thus he frequently alludes to Purchas's Pilgrim, Sir Kenelm Digby's books, Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, Brown's Vulgar Errors, Burton's Melancholy, the early transactions of the Royal Society, the various pamphlets and poems of his time, &c., &c. These books, though now little known, were much read and admired in our author's days. The adventure with the widow is introduced in conformity with other poets, both heroic and dramatic, who hold that no poem can be perfect which hath not at least one Episode of Love.

It is not worth while to inquire, if the characters painted under the fictitious names of Hudibras, Crowdero, Orsin, Talgol, Trulla, &c, were drawn from real life, or whether Sir Roger L'Estrange's key to Hudi-

bras be a true one; it matters not whether the hero were designed as the picture of Sir Samuel Luke, Col. Rolls, or Sir Henry Rosewell; he is, in the language of Dr Ridley, knight of the Shire, and represents them all, that is, the whole body of the Presbyterians, as Ralpho does that of the Independents: it would be degrading the liberal spirit and universal genius of Mr. Butler, to narrow his general satire to a particular libel on any characters, however marked and prominent. To a single rogue, or blockhead, he disdained to stoop; the vices and follies of the age in which he lived, (et quando uberior vitiorum copia,) were the quarry at which he fled; these he concentrated, and embodied in the persons of Hudibras, Ralpho, Sidrophel, &c., so that each character in this admirable poem should be considered, not as an individual, but as a species.

It is not generally known, that meanings still more remote and chimerical than mere personal allusions, have been discovered in Hudibras; and the poem would have wanted one of those marks which distinguish works of superior merit, if it had not been supposed to be a perpetual allegory: writers of eminence, Homer, Plato, and even the Holy Scriptures themselves, have been most wretchedly misrepresented by commentators of this cast; and it is astonishing to observe to what a degree Heraclides* and Proclus,† Philo‡ and Origen, have lost sight of their usual good sense, when they have

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* The Allegoriæ Homericæ, Gr. Lat., published by Dean Gale, Amst. 1688, though usually ascribed to Heraclides Ponticus, the Platonist, must be the work of a more recent author, as the Dean has proved: his real name seems to have been Heraclitus, (not the philosopher,) and nothing more is known of him, but that Eustathius often cites him in his comment on Homer: the tract, however, is elegant and agreeable, and may be read with improvement and pleasure.

† Proclus, the most learned philosopher of the fifth century, left among other writings numerous comments on Plato's works still subsisting, so stuffed with allegorical absurdities, that few who have perused two periods, will have patience to venture on a third. In this, he only follows the example of Atticus, and many others, whose interpretations, as wild as his own, he carefully examines. He sneers at the famous Longinus with much contempt, for adhering too servilely to the literal meaning of Plato.

‡ Philo the Jew discovered many mystical senses in the Pentateuch, and from him, perhaps, Origen learned his unhappy knack of allegorizing both Old and New Testament. This, in justice, however, is due to Origen, that while he is hunting after abstruse senses, he doth not neglect the literal, but is sometimes happy in his criticisms

allowed themselves to depart from the obvious and literal meaning of the text, which they pretend to explain. Thus some have thought that the hero of the piece was intended to represent the parliament, especially that part of it which favored the Presbyterian discipline; when in the stocks, he personates the Presbyterians after they had lost their power; his first exploit is against the bear, whom he routs, which represents the parliament getting the better of the king: after this great victory, he courts a widow for her jointure, that is, the riches and power of the kingdom; being scorned by her, he retires, but the revival of hope to the royalists draws forth both him and his squire, a little before Sir George Booth's insurrection. Magnano, Cerdon, Talgol, &c., though described as butchers, coblers, tinkers, were designed as officers in the parliament army, whose original professions, perhaps, were not much more noble: some have imagined Magnano to be the duke of Albemarle, and his getting thistles from a barren land, to allude to his power in Scotland, especially after the defeat of Booth. Trulla his wife, Crowdero Sir George Booth, whose bringing in of Bruin alludes to his endeavors to restore the king: his oaken leg, called the better one, is the king's cause, his other leg the Presbyterian discipline; his fiddle-case, which in sport they hung as a trophy on the whipping-post, the directory. Ralpho, they say, represents the parliament of Independents, called Barebones Parliament; Bruin is sometimes the royal person, sometimes the king's adherents; Orsin represents the royal party—Talgol the city of London—Colon the bulk of the people: all these joining together against the knight, represent Sir George Booth's conspiracy, with Presbyterians and royalists, against the parliament: their overthrow, through the assistance of Ralph, means the defeat of Booth by the assistance of the Independents and other fanatics. These ideas are, perhaps, only the phrensy of a wild imagination, though there may be some lines that seem to favor the conceit.

Dryden and Addison have censured Butler for his double rhymes; the latter nowhere argues worse than upon this subject: "If," says he, "the thought in the "couplet be good, the rhymes add little to it; and if "bad, it will not be in the power of rhyme to recom-"mend it. I am afraid that great numbers of those "who admire the incomparable Hudibras, do it more on "account of these doggerel rhymes, than the parts that

"really deserve admiration."* This reflection affects equally all sorts of rhyme, which certainly can add nothing to the sense; but double rhymes are like the whimsical dress of Harlequin, which does not add to his wit, but sometimes increases the humor and drollery of it: they are not sought for, but, when they come easily, are always diverting: they are so seldom found in Hudibras, as hardly to be an object of censure, especially as the diction and the rhyme both suit well with the character of the hero.

It must be allowed that our poet doth not exhibit his hero with the dignity of Cervantes; but the principal fault of the poem is, that the parts are unconnected, and the story not interesting: the reader may leave off without being anxious for the fate of his hero; he sees only disjecta membra poetæ; but we should remember, that the parts were published at long intervals,† and that several of the different cantos were designed as satires on different subjects or extravagancies. What the judicious Abbé du Bos has said respecting Ariosto, may be true of Butler, that, in comparison with him, Homer is a geometrician: the poem is seldom read a second time, often not a first in regular order; that is, by passing from the first canto to the second, and so on in succession. Spenser, Ariosto, and Butler, did not live in an age of planning; the last imitated the former poets—"his poetry is the careless exuberance of a witty "imagination and great learning."

Fault has likewise been found, and perhaps justly, with the too frequent elisions, the harshness of the numbers, and the leaving out the signs of our substantives; his inattention to grammar and syntax, which, in some passages, may have contributed to obscure his meaning, as the perplexity of others arises from the amazing fruitfulness of his imagination, and extent of his reading. Most writers have more words than ideas, and the reader wastes much pains with them, and gets little information or amusement. Butler, on the contrary, has more ideas than words, his wit and learning crowd so fast upon him, that he cannot find room or time to arrange them: hence his periods become sometimes embarrassed and obscure, and his dialogues are too long. Our poet has been charged with obscenity, evil-speaking, and

* Spectator, No. 60.

† The Epistle to Sidrophel, not till many years after the canto to which it is annexed.

profaneness; but satirists will take liberties. Juvenal, and that elegant poet Horace, must plead his cause, so far as the accusation is well founded.

Some apology may be necessary, or expected, when a person advanced in years, and without the proper qualifications, shall undertake to publish, and comment upon, one of the most learned and ingenious writers in our language; and, if the editor's true and obvious motives will not avail to excuse him, he must plead guilty. The frequent pleasure and amusement he had received from the perusal of the poem, naturally bred a respect for the memory and character of the author, which is further endeared to him by a local relation to the county, and to the parish, so highly honored by the birth of Mr. Butler. These considerations induced him to attempt an edition, more pompous perhaps, and expensive, than was necessary, but not too splendid for the merit of the work. While Shakspeare, Milton, Waller, Pope, and the rest of our English classics, appear with every advantage that either printing or criticism can supply, why should not Hudibras share those ornaments at least with them which may be derived from the present improved state of typography and paper? Some of the dark allusions, in Hudibras, to history, voyages, and the abstruser parts of what was then called learning, the author himself was careful to explain in a series of notes to the first two parts; for the annotations to the third part, as has been before observed, do not seem to come from the same hand. In most other respects, the poem may be presumed to have been tolerably clear to the ordinary class of readers at its first publication: but, in a course of years, the unavoidable fluctuations of language, the disuse of customs then familiar, and the oblivion which hath stolen on facts and characters then commonly known, have superinduced an obscurity on several passages of the work, which did not originally belong to it. The principal, if not the sole view, of the annotations now offered to the public, hath been to remove these difficulties, and point out some of the passages in the Greek and Roman authors to which the poet alludes, in order to render Hudibras more intelligible to persons of the commentator's level, men of middling capacity, and limited information. To such, if his remarks shall be found useful and acceptable, he will be content, though they should appear trifling in the estimation of the more learned.

It is extraordinary, that for above a hundred and twenty years, only one commentator hath furnished notes of any considerable length. Doctor Grey had various friends, particularly Bishop Warburton, Mr. Byron, and several gentlemen of Cambridge, who communicated to him learned and ingenious observations: these have been occasionally adopted without scruple, have been abridged, or enlarged, or altered, as best consisted with a plan, somewhat different from the doctor's; but in such a manner as to preclude any other than a general acknowledgment from the infinite perplexity that a minute and particular reference to them at every turn, would occasion; nor has the editor been without the assistance of his friends.

It is well known in Worcestershire, that long before the appearance of Doctor Grey's edition, a learned and worthy clergyman of that county, after reading Hudibras with attention, had compiled a set of observations, with design to reprint the poem, and to subjoin his own remarks. By the friendship of his descendants, the present publisher hath been favored with a sight of those papers, and though, in commenting on the same work, the annotator must unavoidably have coincided with, and been anticipated by Dr. Grey in numerous instances, yet much original information remained, of which a free and unreserved use hath been made in the following sheets; but he is forbid any further acknowledgment.

He is likewise much obliged to Dr. Loveday, of Williamscot, near Banbury, the worthy son of a worthy father; the abilities and correctness of the former can be equalled only by the learning and critical acumen of the latter. He begs leave likewise to take this opportunity of returning his thanks to his learned and worthy neighbor Mr. Ingraham, from whose conversation much information and entertainment has been received on many subjects.

Mr. Samuel Westley, brother to the celebrated John Westley, had a design of publishing an edition of Hudibras with notes. He applied to Lord Oxford for the use of his books in his library, and his Lordship wrote him the following obliging answer from Dover-street, August 7, 1734 —"I am very glad you was reduced to read "over Hudibras three times with care: I find you are "perfectly of my mind, that it much wants notes, and "that it will be a great work; certainly it will be, to do

"it as it should be. I do not know one so capable of "doing it as yourself. I speak this very sincerely. "Lilly's life I have, and any books that I have you "shall see, and have the perusal of them, and any other "part that I can assist. I own I am very fond of the "work, and it would be of excellent use and entertain-"ment.

"The news you read in the papers of a match with "my daughter and the Duke of Portland was completed "at Mary-le-bonne chapel," &c.*

What progress he made in the work, or what became of his notes, I could never learn.

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* Extract of a letter from Lord Oxford, taken from original letters by the Reverend John Westley and his friends, illustrative of his early history, published by Joseph Priestley, LL. D., printed at Birmingham 1791

PART I. CANTO 1

THE ARGUMENT.

Sir Hudibras* his passing worth
The manner how he sally'd forth;
His arms and equipage are shown;
His horse's virtues and his own.
Th' adventure of the bear and fiddle
Is sung, but breaks off in the middle.†

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* Butler probably took this name from Spenser's Fairy Queen, B. ii. C. ii. St. 17.

> He that made love unto the eldest dame
> Was hight Sir Hudibras, an hardy man;
> Yet not so good of deeds, as great of name,
> Which he by many rash adventures wan,
> Since errant arms to sew he first began.

Geoffry of Monmouth mentions a British king of this name, though some have supposed it derived from the French, Hugo, Hu de Bras, signifying Hugh the powerful, or with the strong arm: thus Fortinbras, Firebras.

In the Grub-street Journal, Col. Rolls, a Devonshire gentleman, is said to be satirized under the character of Hudibras; and it is asserted, that Hugh de Bras was the name of the old tutelar saint of that county: but it is idle to look for personal reflections in a poem designed for a general satire on hypocrisy, enthusiasm, and false learning.

† Bishop Warburton observes very justly, that this is a ridicule on Ronsard's Franciade and Sir William Davenant's Gondibert.

HUDIBRAS.

CANTO I.

When civil fury first grew high,*
And men fell out, they knew not why ;†
When hard words, jealousies, and fears,‡
Set folks together by the ears,

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* In the first edition of the first part of this poem, printed separately, we read *dudgeon*. But on the publication of the second part, when the first was reprinted with several additions and alterations, the word dudgeon was changed to fury ; as appears in a copy corrected by the author's own hand. The publisher in 1704, and the subsequent ones, have taken the liberty of correcting the author's copy, restored the word dudgeon, and many other readings : changing them, I think I may say, for the worse, in several passages. Indeed, while the Editor of 1704 replaces this word, and contends for it, he seems to show its impropriety. "To take in dudgeon," says he, "is inwardly to re-" sent, a sort of grumbling in the gizzard, and what was previous "to actual fury." Yet in the next lines we have men falling out, set together by the ears, and fighting. I doubt not but the inconsistency of these expressions occurred to the author, and induced him to change the word, that his sense might be clear, and the æra of his poem certain and uniform.—Dudgeon, in its primitive sense, signifies a dagger ; and figuratively, such hatred and sullenness as occasion men to employ short concealed weapons. Some readers may be fond of the word dudgeon, as a burlesque term, and suitable, as they think, to the nature of the poem : but the judicious critic will observe, that the poet is not always in a drolling humor, and might not think fit to fall into it in the first line : he chooses his words not by the oddness or uncouthness of the sound, but by the propriety of their signification. Besides, the word dudgeon, in the figurative sense, though not in its primitive one, is generally taken for a monoptote in the ablative case, to take in dudgeon, which might be another reason why the poet changed it into fury. See line 379.

† Dr. Perrincheif's Life of Charles I. says, "There will never "be wanting, in any country, some discontented spirits, and "some designing craftsmen : but when these confusions began, "the more part knew not wherefore they were come together."

‡ *Hard words*—Probably the jargon and cant-words used by the Presbyterians, and other sectaries. They called themselves the elect, the saints, the predestinated : and their opponents they called Papists, Prelatists, ill-designing, reprobate, profligate, &c &c

And made them fight, like mad or drunk,
For dame Religion as for Punk ;*

"In the body politic, when the spiritual and windy power "moveth the members of a commonwealth, and by strange and "hard words suffocates their understanding, it must needs there- "by distract the people, and either overwhelm the common- wealth with oppression, or cast it into the fire of a civil war" HOBBES.

Jealousies—Bishop Burnet, in the house of lords, on the first article of the impeachment of Sacheverel, says, "The true oc "casion of the war was a jealousy, that a conduct of fifteen "years had given too much ground for; and that was still kept "up by a fatal train of errors in every step." See also the king's speech, Dec. 2, 1641.

And fears—Of superstition and Popery in the church, and of arbitrary power and tyranny in the state: and so prepossessed were many persons with these fears, that, like the hero of this poem, they would imagine a bear-baiting to be a deep design against the religion and liberty of the country. Lord Clarendon tells us, that the English were the happiest people under the sun, while the king was undisturbed in the administration of justice; but a too much felicity had made them unmanageable by moderate government; a long peace having softened almost all the noblesse into court pleasures, and made the commoners insolent by great plenty.

King Charles, in the fourth year of his reign, tells the lords, "We have been willing so far to descend to the desires of our "good subjects, as fully to satisfie all moderate minds, and free 'them from all just fears and jealousies." The words jealousies and fears, were bandied between the king and the parliament in all their papers, before the absolute breaking out of the war They were used by the parliament to the king, in their petition for the militia, March 1, 1641-2; and by the king in his answer: "You speak of jealousies and fears, lay your hands to your "hearts and ask yourselves, whether I may not be disturbed "with jealousies and fears." And the parliament, in their declaration to the king at Newmarket, March 9, say, 'Those fears "and jealousies of ours which your majesty thinks to be cause- "less, and without just ground, do necessarily and clearly arise "from those dangers and distempers into which your evil coun- "cils have brought us: but those other fears and jealousies of "yours, have no foundation or subsistence in any action, inten 'tion, or miscarriage of ours, but are merely grounded on false 'hood and malice."

The terms had been used before by the Earl of Carlisle to James I., 14 Feb. 1623. "Nothing will more dishearten the en- 'vious maligners of your majesty's felicity, and encourage your "true-hearted friends and servants, than the removing those "false fears and jealousies, which are mere imaginary phan- "tasms, and bodies of air easily dissipated, whensoever it shall "please the sun of your majesty to shew itself clearly in its "native brightness, lustre, and goodness."

* *Punk*—From the Anglo-Saxon pung; it signifies a bawd Anus instar corii ad ignem siccati. (Skinner.) Sometimes scor tum, scortillum. Sir John Suckling says,

Religion now is a young mistress here
For which each man will fight and die at least:
Let it alone awhile, and 'twill become

Whose honesty they all durst swear for,
Tho' not a man of them knew wherefore
When Gospel-Trumpeter, surrounded
With long-ear'd rout, to battle sounded,*
And pulpit, drum ecclesiastick,
Was beat with fist, instead of a stick;†
Then did Sir Knight abandon dwelling,
And out he rode a colonelling.‡
A Wight he was,§ whose very sight wou'd
Entitle him Mirror of Knight-hood;‖

A kind of married wife; people will be
Content to live with it in quietness.

* Mr. Butler told Thomas Veal, esquire, of Simons-hall, Gloucestershire, that the Puritans had a custom of putting their hands behind their ears, at sermons, and bending them forward, under pretence of hearing the better. He had seen five hundred or a thousand large ears pricked up as soon as the text was named. Besides, they wore their hair very short, which showed their ears the more. See Godwin's notes in Bodley library.

Dr. Bulwer, in his Anthropometamorphosis, or Artificial Changeling, tells us wonderful stories of the size of men's ears in some countries.—Pliny, lib. 7, c. 2, speaks of a people on the borders of India, who covered themselves with their ears. And Purchas, in his Pilgrim, saith, that in the island Arucetto, there are men and women having ears of such bigness, that they lie upon one as a bed, and cover themselves with the other.

I here mention the idle tales of these authors, because their works, together with Brown's Vulgar Errors, are the frequent object of our poet's satire.

† It is sufficiently known from the history of those times, that the seeds of rebellion were first sown, and afterwards cultivated, by the factious preachers in conventicles, and the seditious and schismatical lecturers, who had crept into many churches, especially about London. "These men," says Lord Clarendon, "had, from the beginning of the parliament, infused seditious "inclinations into the hearts of all men, against the government "in church and state: but after the raising an army, and reject-"ing the king's overtures for peace, they contained themselves "within no bounds, but filled all the pulpits with alarms of ruin "and destruction, if a peace were offered or accepted." These preachers used violent action, and made the pulpit an instrument of sedition, as the drum was of war. Dr. South, in one of his sermons, says, "The pulpit supplied the field with sword-"men, and the parliament-house with incendiaries."

‡ Some have imagined from hence, that by Hudibras, was intended Sir Samuel Luke of Bedfordshire. Sir Samuel was an active justice of the peace, chairman of the quarter sessions, colonel of a regiment of foot in the parliament army, and a committee-man of that county: but the poet's satire is general, not personal.

§ Wight is originally a Saxon word, and signifies a person or being. It is often used by Chaucer, and the old poets. Sometimes it means a witch or conjuror.

‖ A favorite title in romances.

That never bent his stubborn knee* - Presbyterians refused to kneel for the Sacrament
To any thing but chivalry;
Nor put up blow, but that which laid
Right worshipful on shoulder-blade:† 20
Chief of domestic knights, and errant,
Either for chartel‡ or for warrant:
Great on the bench, great in the saddle,
That could as well bind o'er, as swaddle:§
Mighty he was at both of these, 25
And styl'd of War as well as Peace.
So some rats of amphibious nature,
Are either for the land or water.
But here our authors make a doubt,
Whether he were more wise, or stout.‖ 30
Some hold the one, and some the other;
But howsoe'er they make a pother,
The diff'rence was so small, his brain
Outweigh'd his rage but half a grain;
Which made some take him for a tool 35
That knaves do work with, call'd a Fool;
And offer'd to lay wagers, that
As Montaigne, playing with his cat,

---

* Alluding to the Presbyterians, who refused to kneel at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and insisted upon receiving it in a sitting or standing posture. See Baxter's Life, &c. &c. In some of the kirks in Scotland, the pews are so made, that it is very difficult for any one to kneel.

† That is, did not suffer a blow to pass unrevenged, except the one b[illegible] which the king knighted him.

‡ For a challenge. He was a military as well as a civil officer—

ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής.
Il. iii. 179.

Pope translates it,

Great in the war, and great in arts of sway.
Il. iii. 236.

Plutarch tells us, that Alexander the Great was wonderfully delighted with this line.

§ *Swaddle.*—That is, to beat or cudgel, says Johnson; but the word in the Saxon, signifies to bind up, to try to heal by proper bandages and applications; hence the verb to *swathe*, and the adjective *swaddling* clothes; the line therefore may signify, that his worship could either make peace, and heal disputes among his neighbors, or, if they could not agree, bind them over to the sessions for trial.

‖ A burlesque on the usual strain of rhetorical flattery, when authors pretend to be puzzled which of their patrons' noble qualities they should give the preference to. Something similar to this passage is the saying of Julius Capitolinus, concerning the emperor Verus; "melior orator quam poeta, aut ut verius dicam pejor poeta quam orator"

Complains she thought him but an ass,*
Much more she wou'd Sir Hudibras:
For that's the name our valiant knight
To all his challenges did write.
But they're mistaken very much,
'Tis plain enough he was no such:
We grant, although he had much wit,
H' was very shy of using it;†
As being loth to wear it out,
And therefore bore it not about,
Unless on holy-days, or so,
As men their best apparel do.
Besides, 'tis known he could speak Greek
As naturally as pigs squeek:
That Latin was no more difficile,
Than to a blackbird 'tis to whistle:
Being rich in both, he never scanted
His bounty unto such as wanted;
But much of either wou'd afford
To many, that had not one word.
For Hebrew roots, although they're found
To flourish most in barren ground,‡
He had such plenty, as suffic'd
To make some think him circumcis'd;
And truly so, perhaps, he was,
'Tis many a pious Christian's case.§

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* "When my cat and I," says Montaigne, "entertain each "other with mutual apish tricks, as playing with a garter, who "knows but I make her more sport than she makes me? shall I "conclude her simple, who has her time to begin or refuse sport-"iveness as freely as I myself? Nay, who knows but she laughs "at, and censures, my folly, for making her sport, and pities me "for understanding her no better?" And of animals—"ils nous "peuvent estimer bêtes, comme nous les estimons."

† The poet, in depicting our knight, blends together his great pretensions, and his real abilities; giving him high encomiums on his affected character, and dashing them again with his true and natural imperfections. He was a pretended saint, but in fact a very great hypocrite; a great champion, though an errant coward; famed for learning, yet a shallow pedant.

‡ Some students in Hebrew have been very angry with these lines, and assert, that they have done more to prevent the study of that language, than all the professors have done to promote it. See a letter to the printer of the Diary, dated January 15. 1789, and signed John Ryland. The word *for*, here means, as to.

§ In the first editions this couplet was differently expressed:

And truly so he was, perhaps,
Not as a proselyte, but for claps.

Many vulgar, and some indecent phrases, were afterwards corrected

He was in Logic a great critic,* 65
Profoundly skill'd in Analytic;
He could distinguish, and divide
A hair 'twixt south and south-west side;
On either side he would dispute,
Confute, change hands, and still confute;† 70
He'd undertake to prove by force
Of argument a man's no horse;
He'd prove a buzzard is no fowl,
And that a Lord may be an owl;
A calf an Alderman, a goose a Justice,‡ 75
And rooks Committee-Men or Trustees.§
He'd run in debt by disputation,
And pay with ratiocination
All this by syllogism true,
In mood and figure, he would do. 80
For Rhetoric, he could not ope
His mouth, but out there flew a trope:
And when he happen'd to break off
I' th' middle of his speech, or cough,

---

by Mr. Butler. And, indeed, as Mr. Cowley observes, in his Ode on Wit,

——'tis just
The author blush, there, where the reader must.

* In some following lines the abuses of human learning are finely satirized.

† Carneades, the academic, having one day disputed at Rome very copiously in praise of justice, refuted every word on the morrow, by a train of contrary arguments. Something similar is said of Cardinal Perron.

‡ A doggerel Alexandrine placed in the first line of the couplet, as it is sometimes in heroic Alexandrines: thus Dryden—

So all the use we make of heaven's discover'd will.
See his Religio Laici.

§ A rook is a well-known black bird, said by the glossarists to be cornix frugivora, and supposed by them to devour the grain; hence, by a figure, applied to sharpers and cheats. Thus the committee-men harassed and oppressed the country, devouring, in an arbitrary manner, the property of those they did not like, and this under the authority of parliament. Trustees are often mentioned by our poet. See p. 3, c. 1, l. 1516.

In Scobel's collection is an ordinance, 1649, for the sale of the royal lands in order to pay the army; the common soldiers purchasing by regiments, like corporations, and having trustees for the whole. These trustees either purchased the soldiers' shares at a very small price, or sometimes cheated the officers and soldiers, by detaining these trust estates for their own use. The same happened often with regard to the church lands: but 13 Ch. II. an act passed for restoring all advowsons, glebe-lands and tythes, &c. to his majesty's loyal subjects.

H' had hard words, ready to shew why
And tell what rules he did it by.*
Else, when with greatest art he spoke,
You'd think he talk'd like other folk.
For all a Rhetorician's rules
Teach nothing but to name his tools.
His ordinary rate of speech
In loftiness of sound was rich;
A Babylonish dialect,
Which learned pedants much affect;
It was a parti-color'd dress
Of patch'd and piebald languages:
'Twas English cut on Greek and Latin,
Like fustian heretofore on satin.†
It had an odd promiscuous tone
As if h' had talk'd three parts in one;
Which made some think, when he did gabble,
Th' had heard three laborers of Babel;‡
Or Cerberus himself pronounce
A leash of languages at once.§
This he as volubly would vent
As if his stock would ne'er be spent:

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* i. e. Aposiopesis—Quos ego—sed motos, &c.

Or cough.—The preachers of those days, looked upon coughing and hemming as ornaments of speech: and when they printed their sermons, noted in the margin where the preacher coughed or hemm'd. This practice was not confined to England, for Olivier Maillard, a Cordelier, and famous preacher printed a sermon at Brussels in the year 1500, and marked in the margin where the preacher hemm'd once or twice, or coughed. See the French notes.

† The slashed sleeves and hose may be seen in the pictures of Dobson, Vandyke, and others; but one would conjecture from the word heretofore, that they were not in common wear in our poet's time.

‡ In Dr. Donne's Satires, by Pope, we read,

You prove yourself so able,
Pity! you were not Druggerman at Babel;
For had they found a linguist half so good
I make no question but the tower had stood.

§ "Our Borderers, to this day, speak a leash of languages "(British, Saxon, and Danish,) in one: and it is hard to determine "which of those three nations has the greatest share in the "motley breed." Camden's Britannia—Cumberland, p. 1010. Butler, in his character of a lawyer, p. 167.—says, "he overruns "Latin and French with greater barbarism than the Goths did "Italy and France; and makes as mad a confusion of language, "by mixing both with English." Statius, rather ridiculously, introduces Janus haranguing and complimenting Domitian with both his mouths,

levat ecce, supinas
Hinc atque inde manus, geminâque hæc voce profatur.

And truly, to support that charge,
He had supplies as vast and large
For he could coin, or counterfeit
New words with little or no wit:*
Words so debas'd and hard, no stone
Was hard enough to touch them on;†
And when with hasty noise he spoke'em,
The ignorant for current took'em.
That had the orator, who once
Did fill his mouth with pebble stones
When he harangu'd, but known his phrase,
He would have us'd no other ways.‡
  In Mathematics he was greater
Than Tycho Brahe, or Erra Pater:§
For he, by geometric scale,
Could take the size of pots of ale;
Resolve, by sines and tangents straight,
If bread or butter wanted weight;‖
And wisely tell what hour o' th' day
The clock does strike, by Algebra.
  Beside, he was a shrewd Philosopher,
And had read ev'ry text and gloss over:
Whate'er the crabbed'st author hath,¶
He understood b' implicit faith:
Whatever Skeptic could inquire for;
For every WHY he had a WHEREFORE:**
Knew more than forty of them do,
As far as words and terms could go.

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* The Presbyterians coined and composed many new words, such as out goings, carryings-on, nothingness, workings-out, gospel-walking times, secret ones, &c. &c.

† This seems to be the right reading; and alludes to the touchstone. Though Bishop Warburton conjectures, that *tone* ought to be read here instead of stone.

‡ These four lines are not found in the first two editions. They allude to the well-known story of Demosthenes.

§ Erra Pater is the nickname of some ignorant astrologer. A little paltry book of the rules of Erra Pater is still vended among the vulgar. I do not think that by Erra Pater, the poet meant William Lilly, but some contemptible person, to oppose to the great Tycho Brahe. Anticlimax was Butler's favorite figure, and one great machine of his drollery.

‖ He could, by trigonometry, discover the exact dimensions of a loaf of bread, or roll of butter. The poet likewise intimates that his hero was an over-officious magistrate, searching out little offences, and levying fines and forfeitures upon them. See Talgol's speech in the next canto.

¶ If any copy would warrant it, I should read "author saith."

** That is, he could elude one difficulty by proposing another or answer one question by proposing another.

All which he understood by rote,
And, as occasion serv'd, would quote;
No matter whether right or wrong,
They might be either said or sung.
His notions fitted things so well,
That which was which he could not tell;*
But oftentimes mistook the one
For th' other, as great clerks have done.
He could reduce all things to acts,
And knew their natures by abstracts;†
Where entity and quiddity,
The ghost of defunct bodies fly;‡
Where Truth in person does appear,§
Like words congeal'd in northern air. ||
He knew what's what, and that's as high
As metaphysic wit can fly.¶
In school-divinity as able
As he that hight irrefragable;**

* He had a jumble of many confused notions in his head, which he could not apply to any useful purpose: or perhaps the poet alludes to those philosophers who took their ideas of substances to be the combinations of nature, and not the arbitrary workmanship of the human mind.

† A thing is in potentia, when it is possible, but does not actually exist; a thing is in act, when it is not only possible, but does exist. A thing is said to be reduced from power into act, when that which was only possible, begins really to exist: how far we can know the nature of things by abstracts, has long been a dispute. See Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding; and consult the old metaphysicians if you think it worth while

‡ A fine satire upon the abstracted notions of the metaphysicians, calling the metaphysical natures the ghosts or shadows of real substances.

§ Some authors have mistaken truth for a real thing or person, whereas it is nothing but a right method of putting those notions or images of things (in the understanding of man) into the same state and order, that their originals hold in nature. Thus Aristotle, Met. lib. 2. Unumquodque sicut se habet secundum esse, ita se habet secundum veritatem.

|| See Rabelais's Pantagruel, livre 4, ch. 56, which hint is improved and drawn into a paper in the Tatler, No. 254. In Rabelais, Pantagruel throws upon deck three or four handfuls of frozen words, il en jecta sus le tillac trois ou quatre poignées: et y veids des parolles bien piquantes.

¶ The jest here is, giving, by a low and vulgar expression, an apt description of the science. In the old systems of logic, quid est quid was a common question.

** Two lines originally followed in this place, which were afterwards omitted by the author in his corrected copy, viz

A second Thomas; or at once,
To name them all, another Duns

Perhaps, upon recollection, he thought this great man, Aquinas, deserving of better treatment, or perhaps he was ashamed of the pun. However, as the passage now stands, it is an inimitable

A second Thomas, or at once,
To name them all, another Duns:
Profound in all the nominal,
And real ways, beyond them all;
And, with as delicate a hand,
Could twist as tough a rope of sand;*
And weave fine cobwebs, fit for scull
That's empty when the moon is full;†
Such as take lodgings in a head
That's to be let unfurnished.
He could raise scruples dark and nice,
And after solve 'em in a trice;
As if Divinity had catch'd
The itch, on purpose to be scratch'd;
Or, like a mountebank, did wound
And stab herself with doubts profound,
Only to show with how small pain
The sores of Faith are cur'd again;
Altho' by woful proof we find,
They always leave a scar behind.
He knew the seat of Paradise,
Could tell in what degree it lies;‡

satire upon the old school divines, who were many of them honored with some extravagant epithet, and as well known by it as by their proper names: thus Alexander Hales, was called doctor irrefragable, or invincible; Thomas Aquinas, the angelic doctor, or eagle of divines; Dun Scotus, the subtle doctor. This last was father of the Reals, and William Ocham of the Nominals. They were both of Merton college in Oxford, where they gave rise to an odd custom. See Plott's Oxfordshire, page 285.—*Hight*, a Saxon and Old English participle passive, signifying *called*.

* A proverbial saying, when men lose their labor by busying themselves in trifles, or attempting things impossible.

† That is, subtle questions or foolish conceits, fit for the brain of a madman or lunatic.

‡ "Paradisum locum diu multumque quæsitum per terrarum "orbem; neque tantum per terrarum orbem, sed etiam in aëre, "in lunâ, et ad tertium usque cœlum." Burnett. Tell. Theor. l. 2, Cap. 7. "Well may I wonder at the notions of some learned "men concerning the garden of Eden; some affirming it to be "above the moon, others above the air; some that it is in the "whole world, others only a part of the north; some thinking "that it was no where, whilst others supposed it to be, God "knows where, in the West Indies; and, for ought I know, Sir "John Mandeville's story of it may be as good as any of them." Foulis's History of Plots, fol. p. 171. "Otrebius, in a tract de "Vitâ, Morte, et Resurrectione, would persuade us, that doubtless "the Rosicrucians are in paradise, which place he scateth near "unto the region of the moon." Olaus Rudbeckius, a Swede, in a very scarce book, entitled Atlantica sive *Manheim*, 4 vol. fol., out of zeal for the honor of his country, has endeavored to prove that Sweden was the real paradise. The learned Huet

And, as he was dispos'd, could prove it,
Below the moon, or else above it:
What Adam dreamt of when his bride
Came from her closet in his side:
Whether the devil tempted her
By an High-Dutch interpreter:*
If either of them had a navel;†

bishop of Avranches, wrote an express treatise De Situ Paradisi Terrestris, but not published till after our poet's death, (1691.) He gives a map of Paradise, and says, it is situated upon the canal formed by the Tigris and Euphrates, after they have joined near Apamea, between the place where they join and that where they separate, in order to fall into the Persian gulf, on the eastern side of the south branch of the great circuit which this river makes towards the west, marked in the maps of Ptolemy, near Aracca, about 32 degrees 39 minutes north latitude, and 80 degrees 10 minutes east longitude. Thus wild and various have been the conjectures concerning the seat of Paradise; but we must leave this point undetermined, till we are better acquainted with the antediluvian world, and know what alterations the flood made upon the face of the earth.

Mahomet is said to have assured his followers, that paradise was seated in heaven, and that Adam was cast down from thence when he transgressed: on the contrary, a learned prelate of our own time, supposes that our first parents were placed in paradise as a reward: for he says,

"God (as we must needs conclude) having tried Adam in the "state of nature, and approved of the good use he had made of "his free will under the direction of that light, advanced him to "a superior station in paradise. How long before this remove, "man had continued subject to natural religion alone, we can "only guess. But of this we may be assured, that it was some "considerable time before the garden of Eden could naturally be "made fit for his reception."—See Warburton's Works: Divine Legation, vol. iii. p. 634. And again: "This natural state "of man, antecedent to the paradisaical, can never be too care-"fully kept in mind, nor too precisely explained; since it is the "very key or clue (as we shall find in the progress of this work) "which is open to us, to lead us through all the recesses and "intimacies of the last and completed dispensation of God to "man; a dispensation long become intricate and perplexed, by "men's neglecting to distinguish these two states or conditions; "which, as we say, if not constantly kept in mind, the Gospel "can neither be well understood, nor reasonably supported."—Div. Leg. vol. iii. p. 626, 4to.

* Johannes Goropius Becanus, a man very learned, and physician to Mary Queen of Hungary, sister to the Emperor Charles V., maintained the Teutonic to be the first, and most ancient language in the world. Verstegan thinks the Teutonic not older than the tower of Babel. Decayed Intelligence, ch. 7.

† "Over one of the doors of the King's antechamber at St "James's, is a picture of Adam and Eve, which formerly hung "in the gallery at Whitehall, thence called the Adam and Eve "Gallery. Evelyn, in the preface to his Idea of the Perfection "of Painting, mentions this picture, painted by Malvagius, as he "calls him, (John Mabuse, of a little town of the same name in "Hainault.) and objects to the absurdity of representing Adam

Whe first made music malleable: *
Whether the serpent, at the fall,
Had cloven feet, or none at all.†
All this without a gloss, or comment,
He could unriddle in a moment,
In proper terms, such as men smatter,
When they throw out and miss the matter.
For his Religion, it was fit
To match his learning and his wit:
'Twas Presbyterian, true blue,‡
For he was of that stubborn crew
Of errant§ saints, whom all men grant
To be the true church militant:‖
Such as do build their faith upon
The holy text of pike and gun;¶
Decide all controversy by
Infallible artillery;
And prove their doctrine orthodox
By apostolic blows, and knocks;
Call fire, and sword, and desolation,
A godly-thorough-Reformation,**

"and Eve with navels, and a fountain of carved imagery in "Paradise. The latter remark is just; the former is only wor-"thy of a critical man-midwife." Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting. Henry VII. vol. i. p. 50. Dr. Brown has the fifth chapter of the fifth book of his Vulgar Errors, expressly on this subject. "Of the Picture of Adam and Eve with Navels."

* This relates to the idea that music was first invented by Pythagoras, on hearing a blacksmith strike his anvil with a hammer—a story which has been frequently ridiculed.

† That curse upon the serpent "on thy belly shalt thou go," seems to imply a deprivation of what he enjoyed before; it has been thought that the serpent had feet at first. So Basil says, he went erect like a man, and had the use of speech before the fall.

‡ Alluding to the proverb—"true blue will never stain:" representing the stubbornness of the party, which made them deaf to reason, and incapable of conviction.

§ The poet uses the word errant with a double meaning; without doubt in allusion to knights errant in romances: and likewise to the bad sense in which the word is used, as, an errant knave, an errant villain.

‖ The church on earth is called militant, as struggling with temptations, and subject to persecutions: but the Presbyterians of those days were literally the church militant, fighting with the establishment, and all that opposed them.

¶ Cornet Joyce, when he carried away the king from Holdenby, being desired by his majesty to show his instructions, drew up his troop in the inward court, and said, "These, sir, are my instructions."

** How far the character here given of the Presbyterians is a true one, I leave others to guess. When they have not had the upper hand, they certainly have been friends to mildness and

Which always must be carry'd on,
And still be doing, never done
As if Religion were intended
For nothing else but to be mended.
A sect, whose chief devotion lies
In odd perverse antipathies:*
In falling out with that or this,
And finding somewhat still amiss:†
More peevish, cross, and splenetic,
Than dog distract, or monkey sick.
That with more care keep holy-day
The wrong, than others the right way:‡
Compound for sins they are inclin'd to,
By damning those they have no mind to:
Still so perverse and opposite,
As if they worshipp'd God for spite.
The self-same thing they will abhor
One way, and long another for.
Free-will they one way disavow,
Another, nothing else allow.§
All piety consists therein
In them, in other men all sin.‖
Rather than fail, they will defy
That which they love most tenderly;
Quarrel with mince'd pies,¶ and disparage

---

moderation: but Dr. Grey produces passages from some of their violent and absurd writers, which made him think that they had a strong spirit of persecution at the bottom.

Some of our brave ancestors said of the Romans, "Ubi soli-"tudinem faciunt, pacem appellant." Tacitus, Vita Agricol. 30.

* In all great quarrels, the parties are apt to take pleasure in contradicting each other, even in the most trifling matters. The Presbyterians reckoned it sinful to eat plum-porridge, or minced pies, at Christmas. The cavaliers observing the formal carriage of their adversaries, fell into the opposite extreme, and ate and drank plentifully every day, especially after the restoration.

† Queen Elizabeth was often heard to say, that she knew very well what would content the Catholics, but that she never could learn what would content the Puritans.

‡ In the year 1645, Christmas-day was ordered to be observed as a fast: and Oliver, when protector, was feasted by the lord mayor on Ash-Wednesday. When James the First desired the magistrates of Edinburgh to feast the French ambassadors before their return to France, the ministers proclaimed a fast to be kept the same day.

§ As maintaining absolute predestination, and denying the liberty of man's will: at the same time contending for absolute freedom in rites and ceremonies, and the discipline of the church.

‖ They themselves being the elect, and so incapable of sinning, and all others being reprobates, and therefore not capable of performing any good action.

¶ "A sort of inquisition was set up, against the food which

Their best and dearest friend—plum-porridge ;
Fat pig and goose itself oppose,
And blaspheme custard through the nose.
Th' apostles of this fierce religion,
Like Mahomet's, were ass and widgeon,*
To whom our knight, by fast instinct
Of wit and temper, was so linkt,
As if hypocrisy and nonsense
Had got th' advowson of his conscience.
Thus was he gifted and accouter'd,
We mean on th' inside, not the outward:
That next of all we shall discuss ;
Then listen, Sirs, it followeth thus:
His tawny beard was th' equal grace
Both of his wisdom and his face ;
In cut and dye so like a tile,
A sudden view it would beguile :
The upper part thereof was whey,
The nether orange, mixt with grey.
This hairy meteor did denounce
The fall of sceptres and of crowns ;†

---

had "been customarily in use at this season." Blackall's Ser mon on Christmas-day.

* Mahomet tells us, in the Koran, that the Angel Gabriel brought to him a milk-white beast, called Alborach, something like an ass, but bigger, to carry him to the presence of God. Alborach refused to let him get up, unless he would promise to procure him an entrance into paradise: which Mahomet promising, he got up. Mahomet is also said to have had a tame pigeon, which he taught secretly to eat out of his ear, to make his followers believe, that by means of this bird there were imparted to him some divine communications. Our poet calls it a widgeon, for the sake of equivoque; widgeon in the figurative sense, signifying a foolish silly fellow. It is usual to say of such a person, that he is as wise as a widgeon: and a drinking song has these lines.—

Mahomet was no divine, but a senseless widgeon,
To forbid the use of wine to those of his religion.

Widgeon and weaver, says Mr. Ray, in his Philosophical Letters, are male and female sex.

"There are still a multitude of doves about Mecca preserved "and fed there with great care and superstition, being thought "to be of the breed of that dove which spake in the ear of Ma "homet." Sandys' Travels.

† Alluding to the vulgar opinion, that comets are always predictive of some public calamity.

Et nunquam cœlo spectatum impune cometen.

Pliny calls a comet crinita.
Mr. Butler in his Genuine Remains, vol. i. p. 54. says,

Which way the dreadful comet went
In sixty-four, and what it meant?

With grisly type did represent
Declining age of government,
And tell, with hieroglyphic spade,
Its own grave and the state's were made.
Like Sampson's heart-breakers, it grew
In time to make a nation rue;*
Tho' it contributed its own fall,
To wait upon the public downfall:†
It was canonic,‡ and did grow
In holy orders by strict vow:§

What Nations yet are to bewail
The operations of its tail:
Or whether France or Holland yet,
Or Germany, be in its debt?
What wars and plagues in Christendom
Have happen'd since, and what to come?
What kings are dead, how many queens
And princesses are poison'd since?
And who shall next of all by turn,
Make courts wear black, and tradesmen mourn?
And when again shall lay embargo
Upon the admiral, the good ship Argo.

Homer, as translated by Pope, Iliad iv. 434, says,

While dreadful comets glaring from afar,
Forewarn'd the horrors of the Theban war.

* Heart-breakers were particular curls worn by the ladies, and sometimes by men. Sampson's strength consisted in his hair; when that was cut off, he was taken prisoner; when it grew again, he was able to pull down the house, and destroy his enemies. See Judges, cap. xvi.

† Many of the Presbyterians and Independents swore not to cut their beards, not, like Mephibosheth, till the king was restored, but till monarchy and episcopacy were ruined. Such vows were common among the barbarous nations, especially the Germans. Civilis, as we learn from Tacitus, having destroyed the Roman legions, cut his hair, which he had vowed to let grow from his first taking up arms. And it became at length a national custom among some of the Germans, never to trim their hair, or their beards, till they had killed an enemy.

‡ The latter editions, for *canonic*, read monastic.

§ This line would make one think, that in the preceding one we ought to read monastic; though the vow of not shaving the beard till some particular event happened, was not uncommon in those times. In a humorous poem, falsely ascribed to Mr. Butler, entitled, The Cobler and Vicar of Bray, we read,

This worthy knight was one that swore
He would not cut his beard,
Till this ungodly nation was
From kings and bishops clear'd.

Which holy vow he firmly kept,
And most devoutly wore
A grisly meteor on his face,
Till they were both no more

Of rule as sullen and severe
As that of rigid Cordeliere:*
'Twas bound to suffer persecution
And martyrdom with resolution;
T' oppose itself against the hate
And vengeance of th' incensed state:
In whose defiance it was worn,
Still ready to be pull'd and torn,
With red-hot irons to be tortur'd,
Revil'd, and spit upon, and martyr'd:
Maugre all which, 'twas to stand fast,
As long as monarchy should last;
But when the state should hap to reel,
'Twas to submit to fatal steel,
And fall, as it was consecrate,
A sacrifice to fall of state;
Whose thread of life the fatal sisters
Did twist together with its whiskers,
And twine so close, that Time should never,
In life or death, their fortunes sever;
But with his rusty sickle mow
Both down together at a blow.
So learned Taliacotius, from
The brawny part of porter's bum,
Cut supplemental noses, which
Would last as long as parent breech:†

* An order so called in France, from the knotted cord which they wore about their middles. In England they were named Grey Friars, and were the strictest branch of the Franciscans.

† Taliacotius was professor of physic and surgery at Bologna, where he was born, 1553. His treatise is well known. He says, the operation has been practised by others before him with success. See a very humorous account of him, Tatler, No. 260. The design of Taliacotius has been improved into a method of holding correspondence at a great distance, by the sympathy of flesh transferred from one body to another. If two persons exchange a piece of flesh from the bicepital muscle of the arm, and circumscribe it with an alphabet; when the one pricks himself in A, the other is to have a sensation thereof in the same part, and by inspecting his arm, perceive what letter the other points to.

Our author likewise intended to ridicule Sir Kenelm Digby, who, in his Treatise on the sympathetic powder, mentions, but with caution, this method of engrafting noses. It has been observed, that the ingenuity of the ancients seems to have failed them on a similar occasion, since they were obliged to piece out the mutilated shoulder of Pelops with ivory.

In latter days it has been a common practice with dentists, to draw the teeth of young chimney-sweepers, and fix them in the heads of other persons. There was a lady whose mouth was supplied in this manner. After some time the boy claimed the

But when the date of Nock was out,* 285
Off dropt the sympathetic snout.
His back, or rather burthen, show'd
As if it stoop'd with its own load.
For as Æneas bore his sire
Upon his shoulders thro' the fire, 290
Our knight did bear no less a pack
Of his own buttocks on his back:
Which now had almost got the upper-
Hand of his head, for want of crupper.
To poise this equally, he bore 295
A paunch of the same bulk before:
Which still he had a special care
To keep well-cramm'd with thrifty fare:
As white-pot, butter-milk, and curds,
Such as a country-house affords; 300
With other victual, which anon
We farther shall dilate upon,
When of his hose we come to treat,
The cup-board where he kept his meat.
His doublet was of sturdy buff, 305
And though not sword, yet cudgel-proof,
Whereby 'twas fitter for *his* use,
Who fear'd no blows but such as bruise.†
His breeches were of rugged woollen,
And had been at the siege of Bullen;‡ 310

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tooth, and went to a justice of peace for a warrant against the lady, who, he alleged, had stolen it. The case would have puzzled Sir Hudibras.

Dr. Hunter mentions some ill effects of the practice. A person who gains a tooth, may soon after want a nose. The simile has been translated into Latin thus:

Sic adscititios nasos de clune torosi
Vectoris docta secuit Taliacotius arte:
Qui potuere parem durando æquare parentem;
At postquam fato clunis computruit, ipsum
Una sympathicum cœpit tabescere rostrum

* Nock is a British word, signifying a slit or crack. And hence figuratively, nates, in Jesse, the fundament. Nock, Nockys, is used by Gawan Douglas in his version of the Æneid, for the bottom, or extremity of any thing: Glossarists say, the word hath that sense both in Italian and Dutch: others think it a British word.

† A man of nice honor suffers more from a kick, or slap in the face, than from a wound. Sir Walter Raleigh says, to be strucken with a sword is like a man, but to be strucken with a stick is like a slave.

‡ Henry VIII. besieged Boulogne in person, July 14, 1544. He was very fat, and consequently his breeches very large. See the paintings at Cowdry in Sussex, and the engravings published

To old King Harry so well known,
Some writers held they were his own,
Thro' they were lin'd with many a piece
Of ammunition-bread and cheese,
And fat black-puddings, proper food
For warriors that delight in blood:
For, as we said, he always chose
To carry vittle in his hose,
That often tempted rats and mice,
The ammunition to surprise:
And when he put a hand but in
The one or th' other magazine,
They stoutly in defence on't stood,
And from the wounded foe drew blood;
And till th' were storm'd and beaten out
Ne'er left the fortifi'd redoubt;
And tho' knights errant, as some think,
Of old did neither eat nor drink,*
Because when thorough desarts vast,
And regions desolate they past,
Where belly-timber above ground,
Or under, was not to be found,
Unless they graz'd, there's not one word
Of their provision on record:
Which made some confidently write,
They had no stomachs but to fight.
'Tis false: for Arthur wore in hall†
Round table like a farthingal,‡

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by the Society of Antiquaries. Their breeches and hose were the same, Port-hose, Trunk-hose, Pantaloons, were all like our sailors' trowsers. See Pedules in Cowel, and the 74th canon ad finem.

* "Though I think, says Don Quixote, that I have read as "many histories of chivalry in my time as any other man, I "never could find that knights errant ever eat, unless it were "by mere accident, when they were invited to great feasts and "royal banquets; at other times, they indulged themselves with "little other food besides their thoughts."

† Arthur is said to have lived about the year 530, and to have been born in 501, but so many romantic exploits are attributed to him, that some have doubted whether there was any truth at all in his history.

Geoffrey of Monmouth calls him the son of Uther Pendragon, others think he was himself called Uther Pendragon: Uther signifying in the British tongue a club, because as with a club he beat down the Saxons: Pendragon, because he wore a dragon on the crest of his helmet.

‡ The farthingal was a sort of hoop worn by the ladies. King Arthur is said to have made choice of the round table that his knights might not quarrel about precedence.

On which, with shirt pull'd out behind,
And eke before, his good knights din'd.
Tho' 'twas no table some suppose,
But a huge pair of round trunk hose:
In which he carry'd as much meat,
As he and all his knights could eat,*
When laying by their swords and truncheons,
They took their breakfasts, or their nuncheons.†
But let that pass at present, lest
We should forget where we digrest;
As learned authors use, to whom
We leave it, and to th' purpose come.
His puissant sword unto his side,
Near his undaunted heart, was ty'd,
With basket-hilt, that would hold broth,
And serve for fight and dinner both.
In it he melted lead for bullets,
To shoot at foes, and sometimes pullets;
To whom he bore so fell a grutch,
He ne'er gave quarter t' any such.
The trenchant blade, Toledo trusty,‡
For want of fighting was grown rusty,
And ate into itself, for lack
Of somebody to hew and hack.
The peaceful scabbard where it dwelt,
The rancour of its edge had felt:
For of the lower end two handful
It had devour'd, 'twas so manful,
And so much scorn'd to lurk in case,
As if it durst not shew its face.

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* True-wit, in Ben Jonson's Silent Woman, says of Sir Amorous La Fool, "If he could but victual himself for half a year in "his breeches, he is sufficiently armed to over-run a country." Act 4, sc. 5.

† *Nuncheons.*—Meals now made by the servants of most families about noon-tide, or twelve o'clock. Our ancestors in the 13th and 14th centuries had four meals a day,—breakfast at 7; dinner at 10; supper at 4; and livery at 8 or 9; soon after which they went to-bed. See the Earl of Northumberland's household-book.

The tradesmen and laboring people had only 3 meals a day,—breakfast at 8; dinner at 12; and supper at 6. They had no livery.

‡ Toledo is a city in Spain, the capital of New Castile, famous for the manufacture of swords: the Toledo blades were generally broad, to wear on horseback, and of great length, suitable to the old Spanish dress. See Dillon's Voyage through Spain, 4to. 782. But those which I have seen were narrow, like a stiletto, but much longer: though probably our hero's was broad, as is implied by the epithet trenchant, cutting.

In many desperate attempts,
Of warrants, exigents,* contempts,
It had appear'd with courage bolder
Than Serjeant Bum invading shoulder:†
Oft had it ta'en possession,
And pris'ners too, or made them run.
This sword a dagger had, his page,
That was but little for his age:‡
And therefore waited on him so,
As dwarfs upon knights errant do.
It was a serviceable dudgeon,§
Either for fighting or for drudging:‖
When it had stabb'd, or broke a head,
It would scrape trenchers, or chip bread,
Toast cheese or bacon,¶ though it were
To bait a mouse-trap, 'twould not care:
'Twould make clean shoes, and in the earth
Set leeks and onions, and so forth:
It had been 'prentice to a brewer,**

* Exigent is a writ issued in order to bring a person to an outlawry, if he does not appear to answer the suit commenced against him.

† Alluding to the method by which bum-bailiffs, as they are called, arrest persons, giving them a tap on the shoulder.

‡ Thus Homer accoutres Agamemnon with a dagger hanging near his sword, which he used instead of a knife. Iliad. Lib. iii. 271. A gentleman producing some wine to his guests in small glasses, and saying it was sixteen years old; a person replied it was very small for its age—ἐπιδόντος δέ τινος οἶνον ἐν ψυκτηριδίῳ μικρὸν, καὶ εἰπόντος ὅτι ἑκκαιδεκαέτης· μικρός γε, ἔφη, ὡς τοσούτων ετῶν. Athenæus Ed. Casaubon. pp. 584 and 585, lib xiii. 289.

§ A dudgeon was a short sword, or dagger: from the Teutonic degen, a sword.

‖ That is for doing any drudgery-work, such as follows in the next verses.

¶ Corporal Nim says, in Shakspeare's Henry V., "I dare not "fight, but I will wink, and hold out mine iron: it is a simple "one, but what though—it will toast cheese."

** This was a common joke upon Oliver Cromwell, who was said to have been a partner in a brewery. It was frequently made the subject of lampoon during his life-time. In the collection of loyal songs, is one called the Protecting Brewer, which has these stanzas—

A brewer may be as bold as a hector,
When as he had drunk his cup of nectar,
And a brewer may be a Lord Protector,
Which nobody can deny.

Now here remains the strangest thing,
How this brewer about his liquor did bring
To be an emperor or a king,
Which nobody can deny.

Where this, and more, it did endure;
But left the trade, as many more
Have lately done, on the same score.
In th' holsters, at the saddle-bow,
Two aged pistols he did stow,
Among the surplus of such meat
As in his hose he could not get.
These would inveigle rats with th' scent,
To forage when the cocks were bent;
And sometimes catch 'em with a snap,
As cleverly as th' ablest trap.*
They were upon hard duty still,
And every night stood sentinel,
To guard the magazine in th' hose,
From two-legg'd and from four-legg'd foes.
Thus clad and fortify'd, Sir Knight,
From peaceful home set forth to fight.
But first with nimble active force,
He got on th' outside of his horse:†
For having but one stirrup ty'd
T' his saddle, on the further side,
It was so short h' had much ado
To reach it with his desp'rate toe.
But after many strains and heaves,
He got upon the saddle eaves,
From whence he vaulted into th' seat,
With so much vigour, strength, and heat,
That he had almost tumbled over
With his own weight, but did recover,
By laying hold on tail and mane,
Which oft he us'd instead of rein.
But now we talk of mounting steed,
Before we further do proceed,

But whether Oliver was really concerned in a brewery, at any period of his life, it is difficult to determine. Heath, one of his professed enemies, assures us, in his Flagellum, that there was no foundation for the report.

Colonel Pride had been a brewer: Colonel Hewson was first a shoemaker, then a brewer's clerk: and Scott had been clerk to a brewer.

* This and the preceding couplet were in the first editions, but afterwards left out in the author's copy.

† Nothing can be more completely droll, than this description of Hudibras mounting his horse. He had one stirrup tied on the off-side very short, the saddle very large; the knight short, fat, and deformed, having his breeches and pockets stuffed with black puddings and other provision, overacting his effort to mount, and nearly tumbling over on the opposite side; his single spur, we may suppose, catching in some of his horse's furniture.

It doth behove us to say something
Of that which bore our valiant bumkin.*
The beast was sturdy, large, and tall,
With mouth of meal, and eyes of wall;
I would say eye, for h' had but one,
As most agree, though some say none.
He was well stay'd, and in his gait,
Preserv'd a grave, majestic state.
At spur or switch no more he skipt,
Or mended pace, than Spaniard whipt:†
And yet so fiery, he would bound,
As if he griev'd to touch the ground:
That Cæsar's horse, who, as fame goes,
Had corns upon his feet and toes,‡
Was not by half so tender-hoof't,
Nor trod upon the ground so soft:
And as that beast would kneel and stoop,
Some write, to take his rider up,§

* A silly country fellow, or awkward stick of wood, from the Belgboom, arbor, and ken, or kin, a diminutive.

† This alludes to the story of a Spaniard, who was condemned to run the gantlet, and disdained to avoid any part of the punishment by mending his pace.

‡ Suetonius relates, that the hoofs of Cæsar's horse were divided like toes. And again, Lycosthenes, de prodigiis et portentis, p. 214, has the following passage: "Julius Cæsar cum "Lusitaniæ præesset—equus insignis, fissis unguibus anteriorum "pedum, et propemodum digitorum humanorum natus est; ferox "admodum, atque elatus: quem natum apud se, cum auruspices "imperium orbis terræ significare domino pronuntiassent, magnâ "curâ aluit; nec patientem sessoris alterius, primus ascendit. "cujus etiam signum pro Æde Veneris genetricis postea dedica-"vit."—The statue of Julius Cæsar's horse, which was placed before the temple of Venus Genetrix, had the hoofs of the fore feet parted like the toes of a man. Montfaucon's Antiq. v. ii. p. 58.

In Havercamp's Medals of Christina, on the reverse of a coin of Gordianus Pius, pl. 34, is represented an horse with two human fore feet, or rather one a foot, the other a hand. Arion is said, by the scholiast, on Statius Theb. vi. ver. 301, to have had the feet of a man—humano vestigio dextri pedis.

§ Stirrups were not in use in the time of Cæsar. Common persons, who were active and hardy, vaulted into their seats; and persons of distinction had their horses taught to bend down toward the ground, or else they were assisted by their strators or equerries. Q. Curtius mentions a remarkable instance of docility of the elephants in the army of king Porus: "Indus more "soluto elephantum procumbere jussit in genua; qui ut se sub-"missit, ceteri quoque, ita enim instituti erant, demisere corpora "in terram." I know no writer who relates that Cæsar's horse would kneel: and perhaps Mr. Butler's memory deceived him. Of Bucephalus, the favored steed of Alexander, it is said—"ille "nec in dorso insidere suo patiebatur alium; et regem, quum "vellet ascendere sponte sua genua submittens, excipiebat; cre-"debaturque sentire quem veheret." See also Diodor. Sicul. t

So Hudibras his, 'tis well known,
Would often do, to set him down.
We shall not need to say what lack
Of leather was upon his back:
For that was hidden under pad,
And breech of Knight gall'd full as bad.
His strutting ribs on both sides show'd
Like furrows he himself had plow'd:
For underneath the skirt of pannel,
'Twixt every two there was a channel.
His draggling tail hung in the dirt,
Which on his rider he would flirt;
Still as his tender side he prickt,
With arm'd heel, or with unarm'd, kickt;
For Hudibras wore but one spur,
As wisely knowing, could he stir
To active trot one side of's horse,
The other would not hang an arse.
A Squire he had, whose name was Ralph,*

Plutarch. de solert. animal. Mr. Butler, in his MS. Commonplace Book, applies the saddle to the right horse; for he says,

Like Bucephalus's brutish honor,
Would have none mount but the right owner.

Hudibras's horse is described very much in the same manner with that of Don Quixote's lean, stiff, jaded, foundered, with a sharp ridge of bones. Rozinante, however, could boast of "mas "quartos que un real"—an equivoque entirely lost in most translations. Quarto signifies a crack, or chop, in a horse's hoof or heel: it also signifies a small piece of money, several of which go to make a real.

* As the knight was of the Presbyterian party, so the squire was an Anabaptist or Independent. This gives our author an opportunity of characterizing both these sects, and of shewing their joint concurrence against the king and church.

The Presbyterians and Independents had each a separate form of church discipline. The Presbyterian system appointed, for every parish, a minister, one or more deacons, and two ruling elders, who were laymen chosen by the parishioners. Each parish was subject to a classis, or union of several parishes. A deputation of two ministers and four ruling elders, from every classis in the county, constituted a provincial synod. And superior to the provincial was the national synod, consisting of deputies from the former, in the proportion of two ruling elders to one minister. Appeals were allowed throughout these several jurisdictions, and ultimately to the parliament. On the attachment of the Presbyterians to their lay-elders, Mr. Seldon observes in his Table-talk, p. 118, that "there must be some lay-"men in the synod to overlook the clergy, lest they spoil the "civil work: just as when the good woman puts a cat into the "milk-house, she sends her maid to look after the cat, lest the "cat should eat up the cream."

The Independents maintained, that every congregation was a complete church within itself, and had no dependence on clas-

That in th' adventure went his half
Though writers, for more stately tone,
Do call him Ralpho, 'tis all one:
And when we can, with metre safe,
We'll call him so, if not, plain Raph;*
For rhyme the rudder is of verses,
With which, like ships, they steer their courses.
An equal stock of wit and valor
He had lain in, by birth a tailor.
The mighty Tyrian queen that gain'd,
With subtle shreds, a tract of land,†
Did leave it, with a castle fair,
To his great ancestor, her heir;
From him descended cross-legg'd knights,‡
Fam'd for their faith and warlike fights
Against the bloody Cannibal,§

sical, provincial, or national synods or assemblies. They chose their own ministers, and required no ordination or laying on of hands, as the Presbyterians did. They admitted any gifted brother, that is, any enthusiast who thought he could preach or pray, into their assemblies. They entered into covenant with their minister, and he with them. Soon after the Revolution the Presbyterians and Independents coalesced, the former yielding in some respects to the latter.

* Paulino Ausonius, metrum sic suasit, ut esses
Tu prior, et nomen prægrederere meum.

Sir Roger L'Estrange supposes, that in his description of Ralpho, our author had in view one Isaac Robinson, a butcher in Moorfields: others think that the character was designed for Premble, a tailor, and one of the committee of sequestrators. Dr. Grey supposes, that the name of Ralph was taken from the grocer's apprentice, in Beaumont and Fletcher's play, called the Knight of the Burning Pestle. Mr. Pemberton, who was a relation and godson of Mr. Butler, said, that the 'squire was designed for Ralph Bedford, esquire, member of parliament for the town of Bedford.

† The allusion is to the well-known story of Dido, who purchased as much land as she could surround with an ox's hide. She cut the hide into small strips, and obtained twenty-two furlongs.

Mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,
Taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.
Virg. Æneid, lib. i. 367.

‡ Tailors, who usually sit at their work in this posture; and knights of the Holy Voyage, persons who had made a vow to go to the Holy Land, after death were represented on their monuments with their legs across. "Sumptuosissima per orbem "christianum erecta cœnobia; in quibus hodie quoque videre "licet militum illorum imagines, monumenta, tibiis in crucem "transversis: sic enim sepulti fuerunt quotquot illo seculo nom-"ina bello sacro dedissent, vel qui tunc temporis crucem susce-"pissent." Chronic. Ecclesiast. lib. ii. p. 72.

§ Tailors, as well as knights of the Holy Voyage, are famed

Whom they destroy'd both great and small.
This sturdy Squire had, as well
As the bold Trojan knight, seen hell,*
Not with a counterfeited pass
Of golden bough,† but true gold lace.
His knowledge was not far behind
The knight's, but of another kind,
And he another way came by't;
Some call it GIFTS, and some NEW LIGHT.
A lib'ral art that costs no pains
Of study, industry, or brains.
His wits were sent him for a token,
But in the carriage crack'd and broken.‡
Like commendation ninepence crookt,
With—to and from my love—it lookt.§

for their faith, the former frequently trusting much in the way of their trade. The words, bloody cannibal, are not altogether applied to the Saracens, who, on many occasions, behaved with great generosity; but they denote a more insignificant creature, to whom the tailor is said to be an avowed enemy.

* In allusion to Æneas's descent into hell, and the tailor's repairing to the place under the board on which he sat to work, called hell likewise, being a receptacle for all the stolen scraps of cloth, lace, &c.

† Mr. Montague Bacon says, it should seem, by these lines, that the poet thought Virgil meant a counterfeited bough; Dr. Plot, in his History of Staffordshire, says, that gold in the mines often grows in the shape of boughs, and branches, and leaves; therefore Virgil, who understood nature well, though he gave it a poetical turn, means no more than a sign of Æneas's going under ground where mines are.

‡ That is, that he was crack-brained.

§ From this passage, and from the proverb used, (Post. Works, v. ii. No. 114,) viz., "he has brought his noble to a ninepence," one would be led to conclude that some coins had actually been strucken of this denomination and value. And, indeed, two instances of this are recorded by Mr. Folkes, both during the civil wars, the one at Dublin, and the other at Newark. Table of English coins, ed. 1763, p. 92, plates 27, 4, and 28. But long before this period, by royal proclamation of July 9, 1551, the base testoons or shillings of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were rated at ninepence, (Folkes, ibid. p. 37,) and of these there were great numbers. It may be conjectured also, that the clipt shillings of Edward and Elizabeth, and, perhaps, some foreign silver coins, might pass by common allowance and tacit agreement for ninepence, and be so called. In William Prynne's answer to John Audland the Quaker, in Butler's Genuine Remains, vol. i. p. 382, we read, a light piece of gold is good and lawful English coin, current with allowance, though it be clipt, filed, washed, or worn: even so are my ears legal, warrantable, and sufficient ears, however they have been clipt, par'd, cropt, circumcis'd.

In Queen Elizabeth's time, as Holinshed, Stow, and Camden affirm, a proclamation was issued, declaring that the testoons coined for twelve-pence, should be current for four-pence halfpenny; an inferior sort, marked with a greyhound, for two-pence

He ne'er consider'd it, as loth*
To look a gift horse in the mouth;
And very wisely would lay forth
No more upon it than 'twas worth,†
But as he got it freely, so
He spent it frank and freely too.
For saints themselves will sometimes be,
Of gifts that cost them nothing, free.
By means of this, with hem and cough,
Prolongers to enlighten'd snuff,‡
He could deep mysteries unriddle,

farthing; and a third and worst sort not to be current at all: stamping and milling money took place about the year 1662.

All or any of these pieces might serve for pocket-pieces among the vulgar, and be given to their sweethearts or comrades, as tokens of remembrance and affection. At this day an Elizabeth's shilling is not unfrequently applied to such purpose. The country people say commonly, I will use your commendations, that is, make your compliments. George Philips, before his execution, bended a sixpence, and presented it to a friend of his, Mr. Stroud. He gave a bended shilling to one Mr. Clark. See a brief narrative of the stupendous tragedy intended by the satanical saints, 1662, p. 59.

* That is, he did not consider it was crackt and broken, or perhaps it may mean, he did not overvalue, and hoard it up, it being given him by inspiration, according to the doctrine of the Independents.

† When the barber came to shave Sir Thomas More the morning of his execution, the prisoner told him, "that there "was a contest betwixt the King and him for his head, and he "would not willingly lay out more upon it than it was worth."

‡ *Prolongers to enlighten'd snuff.*—This reading seems confirmed by Butler's Genuine Remains, vol. i. p. 55, and I prefer it to "enlightened stuff." Enlightened snuff is a good allusion. As a lamp just expiring with a faint light for want of oil, emits flashes at intervals; so the tailor's shallow discourse, like the extempore preaching of his brethren, was lengthened out with hems and coughs, with stops and pauses, for want of matter. The preachers of those days considered hems, nasal tones, and coughs, as graces of oratory. Some of their discourses are printed with breaks and marginal notes, which shew where the preacher introduced his embellishments.

The expiring state of the lamp has furnished Mr. Addison with a beautiful simile in his Cato:

> Thus o'er the dying lamp th' unsteady flame
> Hangs quivering on a point, leaps off by fits,
> And falls again, as loath to quit its hold

And Mr. Butler, Part iii. Cant. ii. l. 349, says,

> Prolong the snuff of life in pain,
> And from the grave recover—gain.

See also Genuine Remains, vol. i. p. 374. "And this serves "thee to the same purpose that hem's and hah's do thy gifted "ghostly fathers, that is, to lose time, and put off thy commodity." Butler seems fond of this expression: "the snuff of the moon is full as harsh as the snuff of a sermon."

As easily as thread a needle ;
For as of vagabonds we say,
That they are ne'er beside their way
Whate'er men speak by this new light,
Still they are sure to be i' th' right,
'Tis a dark-lanthorn of the spirit,
Which none see by but those that bear it ;
A light that falls down from on high,*
For spiritual trades to cozen by :
An ignis fatuus, that bewitches,
And leads men into pools and ditches,†
To make them dip themselves, and sound
For Christendom in dirty pond ;
To dive, like wild-fowl, for salvation,
And fish to catch regeneration.
This light inspires, and plays upon
The nose of saint, like bagpipe drone,
And speaks through hollow empty soul,
As through a trunk, or whisp'ring hole,
Such language as no mortal ear
But spiritual eaves-droppers can hear.
So Phœbus, or some friendly muse,
Into small poets song infuse ;
Which they at second-hand rehearse,
Thro' reed or bagpipe, verse for verse
Thus Ralph became infallible,
As three or four legg'd oracle,
The ancient cup or modern chair ;‡
Spoke truth point blank, though unaware.
For mystic learning wondrous able
In magic talisman, and cabal,§

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* A burlesque parallel between the spiritual gifts, and the sky-lights which tradesmen sometimes have in their shops to shew their goods to advantage.

† An humorous parallel between the vapory exhalation which misleads the traveller, and the re-baptizing practised by the Anabaptists.

‡ "Is not this the cup, saith Joseph's steward, whereby indeed my lord divined ?" The Pope's dictates are said to be infallible, when he delivers them ex cathedrâ. The priestess of Apollo at Delphos used a three-legged stool when she gave out her oracles. From Joseph's cup, perhaps, came the idea of telling fortunes by coffee grounds.

Four-legged oracle, means telling fortunes from quadrupeds. The word oracle occurs in like latitude, p. 2, c. iii. v. 569.

§ Talisman was a magical inscription or figure, engraven, or cast, by the direction of astrologers, under certain positions of the heavenly bodies. The talisman of Apollonius, which stood in the hippodrome at Constantinople, was a brazen eagle It

Whose primitive tradition reaches,
As far as Adam's first green breeches:*
Deep-sighted in intelligences,
Ideas, atoms, influences;
And much of terra incognita, 531
Th' intelligible world could say;†
A deep occult philosopher,
As learn'd as the wild Irish are,‡

---

was melted down when the Latins took that city. They were thought to have great efficacy as preservatives from disease and all kinds of evil. The image of any vermin cast in the precise moment, under a particular position of the stars, was supposed to destroy the vermin represented. Some make Apollonius Tyanæus the inventor of talismans: but they were probably of still higher antiquity. Necepsus, a king of Egypt, wrote a treatise De ratione præsciendi futura, &c. Thus Ausonius, Epist. 19. Pontio Paulino—"Quique magos docuit mysteria vana Necepsus." The Greeks called them τελέσματα, but the name probably is Arabic. Gregory's account of them is learned and copious. Cabal, or cabbala, is a sort of divination by letters or numbers: it signifies likewise the secret or mysterious doctrines of any religion or sect. The Jews pretend to have received their cabbala from Moses, or even from Adam. "Aiunt se conservasse a temporibus Mosis, vel etiam ipsius Adami, doctrinam quandam arcanam dictam cabalam." Burnet's Archeol. Philosoph.

* The author of the Magia Adamica endeavors to prove, that the learning of the ancient Magi was derived from the knowledge which God himself communicated to Adam in paradise. The second line was probably intended to burlesque the Geneva translation of the Bible, published with notes, 1599, which in the third of Genesis, says of Adam and Eve, "they sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves *breeches*." In Mr. Butler's character of an hermetic philosopher, (Genuine Remains, vol. ii. p. 227,) we read: "he derives the pedigree of magic from Adam's first green breeches; because fig-leaves being "the first cloaths that mankind wore, were only used for covering, and therefore are the most antient monuments of concealed mysteries."

† "Ideas, according to my philosophy, are not in the soul, "but in a superior intelligible nature, wherein the soul only "beholds and contemplates them. And so they are only objectively in the soul, or tanquam in cognoscente, but really "elsewhere, even in the intelligible world, that κόσμος νοητὸς "which Plato speaks of, to which the soul is united, and where "she beholds them." See Mr. Norris's Letter to Mr. Dodwell, concerning the immortality of the soul of man, p. 114.

‡ See the ancient and modern customs of the Irish, in Camden's Britannia, and Speed's Theatre. Here the poet may use his favorite figure, the anticlimax. Yet I am not certain whether Mr. Butler did not mean, in earnest, to call the Irish learned: for in the age of St. Patrick, the Saxons flocked to Ireland as to the great mart of learning. We find it often mentioned in our writers, that such an one was sent into Ireland to be educated Sulgenus, who flourished about six hundred years ago—

Exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi
Ivit ad Hibernos, sophiâ mirabile claros.

Or Sir Agrippa, for profound
And solid lying much renown'd:*
He Anthroposophus, and Floud,
And Jacob Behmen understood;†
Knew many an amulet and charm,
That would do neither good nor harm;

In Mr. Butler's MS. Common-place book he says, "When the Saxons invaded the Britons, it is very probable that many fled "into foreign countries, to avoid the fury of their arms, (as the "Veneti did into the islands of the Adriatic sea, when Attila "invaded Italy,) and some, if not most into Ireland, who car-"ried with them that learning which the Romans had planted "here, which, when the Saxons had nearly extinguished it in "this island, flourished at so high a rate there, that most of "those nations, among whom the northern people had intro-"duced barbarism, beginning to recover a little civility, were "glad to send their children to be instructed in religion and "learning, into Ireland."

* Sir Agrippa was born at Cologn, ann. 1486, and knighted for his military services under the Emperor Maximilian. When very young, he published a book De Occultâ Philosophiâ, which contains almost all the stories that ever roguery invented, or credulity swallowed concerning the operations of magic. But Agrippa was a man of great worth and honor, as well as of great learning; and in his riper years was thoroughly ashamed of this book; nor is it to be found in the folio edition of his works.—In his preface he says, "Si alicubi erratum sit, sive "quid liberius dictum, ignoscite adolescentiæ nostræ, qui minor "quam adolescens hoc opus composui: ut possim me excusare, "ac dicere, dum eram parvulus, loquebar ut parvulus, factus "autem vir, evacuavi quæ erant parvuli; ac in libro de vanitate "scientiarum hunc librum magna ex parte retractavi."—Paulus Jovius in his "Elogia doctorum Virorum," says of Sir Agrippa, "a Cæsare eruditionis ergo equestris ordinis dignitate honesta-"tus." p. 237. Bayle, in his Dictionary v. Agrippa, note O, says that the fourth book was untruly ascribed to Agrippa.

† Anthroposophus was a nickname given to one Thomas Vaughan, Rector of Saint Bridge's, in Bedfordshire, and author of a discourse on the nature of man in the state after death, entitled, Anthroposophia Theomagica.—"A treatise," says Dean Swift, "written about fifty years ago, by a Welch gentleman of Cam-"bridge: his name, as I remember, was Vaughan, as appears "by the answer to it written by the learned Dr. Henry Moor: "it is a piece of the most unintelligible fustian that perhaps "was ever published in any language."

Robert Floud, a native of Kent, and son of Sir Thomas Floud, Treasurer of War to Queen Elizabeth, was Doctor of Physic of St. John's College, Oxford, and much given to occult philosophy. He wrote an apology for the Rosycrucians, also a system of physics, called the Mosaic Philosophy, and many other obscure and mystical tracts. Monsieur Rapin says, that Floud was the Paracelsus of philosophers, as Paracelsus was the Floud of physicians. His opinions were thought worthy of a serious confutation by Gassendi. Jacob Behmen was an impostor and enthusiast, of somewhat an earlier date, by trade, I believe, a cobbler. Mr. Law, who revived some of his notions, calls him a Theosopher. He wrote uninteligibly in dark mystical terms.

In Rosycrucian lore as learned,* 545
As he that verè adeptus earned:
He understood the speech of birds†

* The Rosycrucians were a sect of hermetical philosophers The name appears to be derived from ros, dew, and crux, a cross Dew was supposed to be the most powerful solvent of gold; and a cross + contains the letters which compose the word lux, light, called, in the jargon of the sect, the seed or menstruum of the red dragon; or, in other words, that gross and corporeal light, which, properly modified, produces gold. They owed their origin to a German gentleman, called Christian Rosencruz; and from him likewise, perhaps, their name of Rosycrucians, though they frequently went by other names, such as the Illuminati, the Immortales, the Invisible Brothers. This gentleman had travelled to the Holy Land in the fourteenth century, and formed an acquaintance with some eastern philosophers. They were noticed in England before the beginning of the last century. Their learning had a great mixture of enthusiasm; and as Lemery, the famous chymist, says, "it was an art without an "art, whose beginning was lying, whose middle was labor, and "whose end was beggary." Mr. Hales, of Eton, concerning the weapon salve, p. 282, says, "a merry gullery put upon the "world; a gruld of men, who style themselves the brethren of "the Rosycross; a fraternity, who, what, or where they are, no "man yet, no not they who believe, admire, and devote them-"selves unto them, could ever discover."—See Chaufepié's Dict. v. Jungius, note D; and Brucker. Hist. Critic. Phil. iv. i. p. 736. Naudæus and Mosheim. Inst. Hist. Christ. recent. sec. 17. i. 4, 28.—Lore, i. e. science, knowledge, from Anglo-Saxon, learn, læran, to teach.

† The senate and people of Abdera, in their letter to Hippocrates, give it as an instance of the madness of Democritus, that he pretended to understand the language of birds. Porphyry, de abstinentiâ, lib. iii. cap. 3, contends that animals have a language, and that men may understand it. He instances in Melampus and Tiresias of old, and Apollonius of Tyana, who heard one swallow proclaim to the rest, that by the fall of an ass a quantity of wheat lay scattered upon the road. I believe swallows do not eat wheat. [Certainly not.] Philostratus tells us the same tale, with more propriety, of a sparrow. Porphyry adds,—"a friend assured me that a youth, who was his page, "understood all the articulations of birds, and that they were "all prophetic. But the boy was unhappily deprived of the "faculty; for his mother, fearing he should be sent as a present "to the emperor, took an opportunity, when he was asleep, to "piss into his ear." The author of the Targum on Esther says, that Solomon understood the speech of birds.

The reader will be amused by comparing the above lines with Mr. Butler's character of an Hermetic philosopher, in the second volume of his Genuine Remains, published by Mr. Thyer, p. 225, a character which contains much wit. Mr. Bruce in his Travels, vol. ii. p. 243, says, There was brought into Abyssinia a bird called Para, about the bigness of a hen, and spoke all languages, Indian, Portuguese, and Arabic. It named the king's name; although its voice was that of a man, it could neigh like a horse, and mew like a cat, but did not sing like a bird—from an Historian of that country.—In the year 1655, a book was printed in London, by John Stafford, entitled, Ornithologie, or the Speech of Birds, to which probably Mr. Butler might allude.

As well as they themselves do words;
Could tell what subtlest parrots mean,
That speak and think contrary clean;
What member 'tis of whom they talk,
When they cry Rope—and Walk, Knave, walk.*
He'd extract numbers out of matter,†
And keep them in a glass, like water,
Of sov'reign pow'r to make men wise:‡
For, dropt in blear, thick-sighted eyes,
They'd make them see in darkest night,
Like owls, tho' purblind in the light.
By help of these, as he profest,
He had first matter seen undrest:
He took her naked, all alone,
Before one rag of form was on.§
The chaos too he had descry'd,
And seen quite thro', or else he ly'd:
Not that of pasteboard, which men shew
For groats, at fair of Barthol'mew;‖
But its great grandsire, first o' th' name,
Whence that and Reformation came,
Both cousin-germans, and right able
T' inveigle and draw in the rabble:
But Reformation was, some say,

* This probably alludes to some parrot, that was taught to cry rogue, knave, a rope, after persons as they went along the street. The same is often practised now, to the great offence of many an honest countryman, who when he complains to the owner of the abuse, is told by him, Take care, sir, my parrot prophesies—this might allude to more members than one of the house of commons.

† Every absurd notion, that could be picked up from the ancients, was adopted by the wild enthusiasts of our author's days. Plato, as Aristotle informs us, Metaph. lib. i. c. 6, conceived numbers to exist by themselves, besides the sensibles, like accidents without a substance. Pythagoras maintained that sensible things consisted of numbers. Ib. lib. xi. c. 6. And see Plato in his Cratylus.

‡ The Pythagorean philosophy held that there were certain mystical charms in certain numbers.

Plato held whatsoe'er encumbers,
Or strengthens empire, comes from numbers.
Butler's MS.

§ Thus Cleveland, page 110. "The next ingredient of a diurnal is plots, horrible plots, which with wonderful sagacity it hunts dry foot, while they are yet in their causes, before materia prima can put on her smock."

‖ The puppet-shews, sometimes called Moralities, exhibited the chaos, the creation, the flood, &c.

O' th' younger house to puppet-play.*
He could foretel whats'ever was,
By consequence, to come to pass:
As death of great men, alterations,
Diseases, battles, inundations:
All this without th' eclipse of th' sun,
Or dreadful comet, he hath done
By INWARD LIGHT, a way as good,
And easy to be understood:
But with more lucky hit than those
That use to make the stars depose,
Like knights o' th' post,† and falsely charge
Upon themselves what others forge;
As if they were consenting to
All mischief in the world men do:
Or, like the devil, did tempt and sway 'em
To rogueries, and then betray 'em.
They'll search a planet's house, to know
Who broke and robb'd a house below;
Examine Venus and the Moon,
Who stole a thimble and a spoon;
And tho' they nothing will confess,
Yet by their very looks can guess,
And tell what guilty aspect bodes,‡

* It has not been usual to compare hypocrites to puppets, as not being what they seemed and pretended, nor having any true meaning or real consciousness in what they said or did. I remember two passages, written about our author's time, from one of which he might possibly take the hint. "Even as statues "and puppets do move their eyes, their hands, their feet, like "unto living men; and yet are not living actors, because their "actions come not from an inward soul, the fountain of life, but "from the artificial poise of weights when set by the workmen; "even so hypocrites." Mr. Mede.

Bishop Laud said, "that some hypocrites, and seeming mortified men that hold down their heads, were like little images "that they place in the bowing of the vaults of churches, that "look as if they held up the church, and yet are but puppets."

The first plays acted in England were called Mysteries; their subjects were generally scripture stories, such as the Creation, the Deluge, the Birth of Christ, the Resurrection, &c. &c.; this sort of puppet-shew induced many to read the Old and New Testament; and is therefore called the Elder Brother of the Reformation.

† Knights of the post were infamous persons, who attended the courts of justice, to swear for hire to things which they knew nothing about. In the 14th and 15th centuries the common people were so profligate, that not a few of them lived by swearing for hire in courts of justice. See Henry's History of England, and Wilkin. Concil. p. 534.

‡ This, and the following lines, are a very ingenious burlesque upon astrology to which many in those days gave credit

Who stole, and who receiv'd the goods:
They'll question Mars, and, by his look,
Detect who 'twas that nimm'd a cloke;
Make Mercury confess, and 'peach
Those thieves which he himself did teach:*
They'll find i' th' physiognomies
O' th' planets, all men's destinies;
Like him that took the doctor's bill,
And swallow'd it instead o' th' pill,†
Cast the nativity o' th' question,‡
And from positions to be guest on,
As sure as if they knew the moment
Of Native's birth, tell what will come on t
They'll feel the pulses of the stars,
To find out agues, coughs, catarrhs;
And tell what crisis does divine
The rot in sheep, or mange in swine:
In men, what gives or cures the itch,
What made them cuckolds, poor, or rich;
What gains, or loses, hangs, or saves,
What makes men great, what fools, or knaves;
But not what wise, for only of those
The stars, they say, cannot dispose,§
No more than can the astrologians:
There they say right, and like true Trojans.

* Mercury was supposed by the poets to be the patron, or god of thieves.

† This alludes to a well-known story told in Henry Stephen's apology for Herodotus. A physican having prescribed for a countryman, gave him the paper on which he had written, and told him, he must be sure to take that, meaning the potion he had therein ordered. The countryman, misunderstanding the doctor, wrapt up the paper like a bolus, swallowed it, and was cured.

‡ When any one came to an astrologer to have his child's nativity cast, and had forgotten the precise time of its birth, the figure-caster took the position of the heavens at the minute the question was asked.

Mr. Butler, in his character of an hermetic philosopher, (see Genuine Remains, vol. ii. p. 241,) says, "learned astrologers ob-"serving the impossibility of knowing the exact moment of any "man's birth, do use very prudently to cast the nativity of the "question, (like him that swallowed the doctor's bill instead of "the medicine,) and find the answer as certain and infallible, as "if they had known the very instant in which the native, as "they call him, crept into the world."

§ Sapiens dominabitur astris, was an old proverb among the astrologers. Bishop Warburton observes, that the obscurity in these lines arises from the double sense of the word DISPOSE; when it relates to the stars, it signifies *influence;* when it relates to astrologers it signifies *deceive.*

This Ralpho knew, and therefore took
The other course of which we spoke.*
Thus was th' accomplish'd squire endu'd
With gifts and knowledge per'lous shrewd.
Never did trusty squire with knight,
Or knight with squire, e'er jump more right.
Their arms and equipage did fit,
As well as virtues, parts, and wit:
Their valors, too, were of a rate,
And out they sally'd at the gate.
Few miles on horseback had they jogged,
But fortune unto them turn'd dogged;
For they a sad adventure met,
Of which we now prepare to treat:
But ere we venture to unfold
Achievements so resolv'd, and bold,
We should, as learned poets use,
Invoke th' assistance of some muse;†
However critics count it sillier,
Than jugglers talking t' a familiar:
We think 'tis no great matter which,‡
They're all alike, yet we shall pitch
On one that fits our purpose most,
Whom therefore thus we do accost:—
Thou that with ale or viler liquors,
Didst inspire Withers, Prvn, and Vickars,§

* Ralpho did not take to astrological, but to religious imposture; the author intimating that wise men were sometimes deceived by this.

† Butler could not omit burlesquing the solemn invocations with which poets address their Muses. In like manner Juvenal, going to describe Domitian's great turbot, ludicrously invokes the assistance of the Muses in his fourth satire.

‡ Bishop Warburton thinks it should be read, *They think*, that is the critics.

§ The Rev. Mr. Charles Dunster, the learned and ingenious translator of the Frogs of Aristophanes, and the Editor of Philips's Cider, has taken some pains to vindicate the character of Withers as a poet. Party might induce Butler to speak slightingly of him; but he seems to wonder why Swift, and Granger in his Biographical History, should hold him up as an object of contempt. His works are very numerous, and Mr. Granger says, his Eclogues are esteemed the best; but Mr. Dunster gives a few lines from his Britain's Remembrancer, a poem in eight Cantos, written upon occasion of the plague, which raged in London in the year 1625, which bear some resemblance to eastern poetry: two pieces of his, by no means contemptible, are published among the old English ballads, and extracts chiefly lyrical, from his Juvenilia, were printed in 1785, for J. Sewell, Cornhill.

George Withers died 1667, aged 79.—For a further account of

And force them, though it were in spite
Of Nature, and their stars, to write;
Who, as we find in sullen writs,*
And cross-grain'd works of modern wits,
With vanity, opinion, want,
The wonder of the ignorant,
The praises of the author, penn'd
By himself, or wit-insuring friend;†
The itch of picture in the front,‡
With bays, and wicked rhyme upon't,

him, see Kennet's Register and Chronicle, page 648: He is mentioned in Hudibras, Part ii. Canto iii. l. 169.

The extract from his Britain's Remembrancer here follows, which, Mr. Dunster says, may perhaps challenge "comparison "with any instance of the θεὸς απὸ μηχανῆς in ancient or mod-"ern poetry."

——— it prov'd
A crying sin, and so extremely mov'd
God's gentleness, that angry he became:
His brows were bended, and his eyes did flame.
Methought I saw it so; and though I were
Afraid within his presence to appear,
My soul was rais'd above her common station,
Where, what ensues, I view'd by contemplation.
There is a spacious round, which bravely rears
Her arch above the top of all the spheres,
Until her bright circumference doth rise,
Above the reach of man's, or angels' eyes,
Conveying, through the bodies chrystalline,
Those rays which on our lower globes do shine;
And all the great and lesser orbs do lie
Within the compass of their canopy.
In this large room of state is fix'd a throne,
From whence the wise Creator looks upon
His workmanship, and thence doth hear and see
All sounds, all places, and all things that be:
Here sat the king of gods, and from about
His eye-lids so much terror sparkled out,
That every circle of the heavens it shook,
And all the world did tremble at his look
The prospect of the sky, that erst was clear,
Did with a low'ring countenance appear;
The troubled air before his presence fled,
The earth into her bosom shrunk her head;
The deeps did roar, the heights did stand amaz'd
The moon and stars upon each other gaz'd;
The sun did stand unmoved in his path,
The host of heaven was frighted at his wrath;
And with a voice, which made all nature quake,
To this effect the great Eternal spake. Canto i. p. 17

* That is, ill-natured satirical writings.

† He very ingeniously ridicules the vanity of authors who prefix commendatory verses to their works.

‡ Milton, who had a high opinion of his own person, is said to have been angry with the painter or engraver for want of

All that is left o' th' forked hill*
To make men scribble without skill;
Canst make a poet, spite of fate,
And teach all people to translate;
Though out of languages, in which
They understand no part of speech;
Assist me but this once, I 'mplore,
And I shall trouble thee no more.
In western clime there is a town,†
To those that dwell therein well known,
Therefore there needs no more be said here,
We unto them refer our reader;
For brevity is very good,
When w' are, or are not understood.‡
To this town people did repair
On days of market, or of fair,
And to crack'd fiddle, and hoarse tabor,
In merriment did drudge and labor;
But now a sport more formidable
Had rak'd together village rabble:
'Twas an old way of recreating,
Which learned butchers call bear-baiting;
A bold advent'rous exercise,
With ancient heroes in high prize;
For authors do affirm it came
From Isthmian or Nemean game;
Others derive it from the bear
That's fix'd in northern hemisphere,

---

likeness, or perhaps for want of grace, in a print of himself prefixed to his juvenile poems. He expressed his displeasure in four iambics, which have, indeed, no great merit, and lie open to severe criticism, particularly on the word *δυσμίμημα*.

> Ἀμαθεῖ γεγράφθαι χειρὶ τὴνδὲ μὲν εἰκόνα
> Φαίης τάχ' ἄν, πρὸς εἶδος αὐτοφυὲς βλέπων.
> Τὸν δ' ἐκτυπωτὸν οὐκ ἐπιγνόντες, φίλοι,
> Γελᾶτε φαύλου δυσμίμημα ζωγράφου.

* That is, Parnassus

> Nec fonte labra prolui caballino:
> Nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnasso
> Memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem.
> *Persii Sat. Prol*

† He probably means Brentford, about eight miles west of London. See Part ii. Canto iii. v. 996.

‡ If we are understood, more words are unnecessary; if we are not likely to be understood, they are useless. Charles II. answered the Earl of Manchester with these lines, only changing *very* for *ever*, when he was making a long speech in favor of the dissenters.

And round about the poles does make
A circle, like a bear at stake,
That at the chain's end wheels about,
And overturns the rabble-rout:
For after solemn proclamation,*
In the bear's name, as is the fashion,
According to the law of arms,
To keep men from inglorious harms,
That none presume to come so near
As forty feet of stake of bear;
If any yet be so fool-hardy,
T' expose themselves to vain jeopardy,
If they come wounded off and lame,
No honor's got by such a maim,
Altho' the bear gain much, b'ing bound
In honour to make good his ground,
When he's engag'd, and take no notice,
If any press upon him, who 'tis,
But lets them know, at their own cost,
That he intends to keep his post.
This to prevent, and other harms,
Which always wait on feats of arms,
For in the hurry of a fray
'Tis hard to keep out of harm's way.
Thither the Knight his course did steer,
To keep the peace 'twixt dog and bear,
As he believ'd he was bound to do
In conscience, and commission too;†
And therefore thus bespoke the Squire:—
We that are wisely mounted higher
Than constables in curule wit,
When on tribunal bench we sit,‡

* The proclamation here mentioned, was usually made at bear or bull-baiting. See Plot's Staffordshire, 439. Solemn proclamation made by the steward, that all manner of persons give way to the bull, or bear, none being to come near him by forty feet.

† The Presbyterians and Independents were great enemies to those sports with which the country people amused themselves. Mr. Hume, in the last volume of his History of England, (Manners of the Commonwealth, chap. iii. anno 1660, page 119,) says, "All recreations were in a manner suspended, by the rigid "severity of the Presbyterians and Independents: even bear-"baiting was esteemed heathenish and unchristian: the sport "of it, not the inhumanity, gave offence. Colonel Hewson, "from his pious zeal, marched with his regiment into London, "and destroyed all the bears which were there kept for the "diversion of the citizens. This adventure seems to have given "birth to the fiction of Hudibras."

‡ We that are in high office, and sit on the bench by commis-

Like speculators, should foresee,
From Pharos of authority,
Portended mischiefs farther than
Low proletarian tything-men:*
And therefore being inform'd by bruit,
That dog and bear are to dispute,
For so of late men fighting name,
Because they often prove the same;
For where the first does hap to be,
The last does coincidere.
Quantum in nobis, have thought good
To save th' expence of Christian blood,
And try if we, by mediation
Of treaty and accommodation,
Can end the quarrel, and compose
The bloody duel without blows.
Are not our liberties, our lives,
The laws, religion, and our wives,
Enough at once to lie at stake
For cov'nant, and the cause's sake?†
But in that quarrel dogs and bears,
As well as we, must venture theirs?
This feud by Jesuits invented,‡
By evil counsel is fomented;
There is a Machiavilian plot,
Tho' ev'ry nare olfact it not,§

---

sion as justices of the peace.—Some of the chief magistrates in Rome, as ædile, censor, prætor, and consul, were said to hold curule offices, from the chair of state or chariot they rode in, called sella curulis.

* Proletarii were the lowest class of people among the Romans, who had no property, so called a munere officioque prolis edendæ, as if the only good they did to the state were in begetting children. Tything-man, that is, a kind of inferior or deputy constable.

† Covenant means the solemn league and covenant drawn up by the Scotch, and subscribed by many of the sectaries in England, who were fond of calling their party The Cause, or the greatest cause in the world. They professed they would not forsake it for all the parliaments upon earth. One of their writers says, "Will not the abjurers of the covenant, of all "others, be the chief of sinners, whilst they become guilty of no "less sin, than the very sin against the Holy Ghost?"

‡ As Don Quixote was dreaming of chivalry and romances, so it was the great object of our knight to extirpate popery and independency in religion, and to reform and settle the state.

§ The knight, in this speech, employs more Latin, and more uncouth phrases, than he usually does. In this line he means—though every nose do not smell it. The character of his language was given before in the ninety-first, and some following lines.

And deep design in't to divide
The well-affected that confide,
By setting brother against brother,
To claw and curry one another.
Have we not enemies plus satis,
That cane et angue pejus* hate us?
And shall we turn our fangs and claws
Upon our own selves, without cause?
That some occult design doth lie
In bloody cynarctomachy,†
Is plain enough to him that knows
How saints lead brothers by the nose.
I wish myself a pseudo-prophet,‡
But sure some mischief will come of it,
Unless by providential wit,
Or force, we averruncate§ it.
For what design, what interest,
Can beast have to encounter beast?
They fight for no espoused cause,
Frail privilege, fundamental laws,‖

* A proverbial saying, used by Horace, expressive of a bitter aversion, The punishment for parricide among the Romans was, to be put into a sack with a snake, a dog, and an ape, and thrown into the river.

† Cynarctomachy is compounded of three Greek words, signifying a fight between dogs and bears. The perfect Diurnal of some passages of Parliament from July 24 to July 31, 1643, No. 4, gives an account how the Queen brought from Holland "besides a company of savage ruffians a company of savage bears;" Colonel Cromwell finding the people of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire, baiting them on the Lord's day, and in the height of their sport, caused the bears to be seized, tied to a tree, and shot.

We tax'd you round—sixpence the pound,
And massacred your bears—— *Loyal Songs.*

‡ That is, a false prophet.

§ *Averruncate*, means no more than eradicate, or pluck up.

‖ The following lines recite the grounds on which the parliament began the war against the king, and justified their proceedings afterwards. He calls the privileges of parliament frail, because they were so very apt to complain of their being broken Whatever the king did, or refused to do, contrary to the sentiments, and unsuitable to the designs of parliament, they voted presently a breach of their privilege: his dissenting to any of the bills they offered him was a breach of privilege: his proclaiming them traitors, who were in arms against him, was a high breach of their privilege: and the commons at last voted it a breach of privilege for the house of lords to refuse assent to any thing that came from the lower house.

Both the English and the Scotch, from the beginning of the war, avouched that their whole proceedings were according to the fundamental laws: by which they meant not any statutes or laws in being, but their own sense of the constitution. Thus, after the king's death, the Dutch ambassadors were told, that

Nor for a thorough reformation,
Nor covenant, nor protestation,*
Nor liberty of consciences,†
Nor lords' and commons' ordinances;‡
Nor for the church, nor for church-lands,
To get them in their own no hands;§
Nor evil counsellers to bring
To justice, that seduce the King;
Nor for the worship of us men,
Tho' we have done as much for them.
Th' Egyptians worshipp'd dogs, and for
Their faith made fierce and zealous war.‖
Others ador'd a rat, and some
For that church suffer'd martyrdom.
The Indians fought for the truth
Of th' elephant and monkey's tooth;¶
And many, to defend that faith,
Fought it out mordicus to death;**
But no beast ever was so slight,††
For man, as for his god to fight.
They have more wit, alas! and know
Themselves and us better than so:
But we who only do infuse
The rage in them like boute-feus,‡‡

---

what the parliament had done against the king was according to the fundamental laws of this nation which were best known to themselves.

* The protestation was a solemn vow or resolution entered into, and subscribed, the first year of the long parliament.

† The early editions have it *free liberty of consciences:* and this reading Bishop Warburton approves; "free liberty" being, as he thinks, a satirical periphrasis for licentiousness, which is what the author here hints at.

‡ An ordinance (says Cleveland, p. 109) is a law still-born, dropt before quickened by the royal assent. 'Tis one of the parliament's by-blows, acts only being legitimate, and hath no more fire than a Spanish gennet, that is begotten by the wind.

§ Suppose we read, To get them into their own hands. [Mr. Nash is wrong—*no hands* here means *paws.*]

‖ See the beginning of the fifteenth satire of Juvenal.

¶ The inhabitants of Ceylon and Siam are said to have had in their temples, as objects of worship, the teeth of monkeys and of elephants. The Portuguese, out of zeal for the Christian religion, destroyed these idols; and the Siamese are said to have offered 700,000 ducats to redeem a monkey's tooth which they had long worshipped. Le Blanc's Travels, and Herbert's Travels. Martinus Scriblerus, of the Origin of Sciences, Swift's works.

** Mordicus, valiantly, tooth and nail.

†† That is, so weak, so silly.

‡‡ Makers of mischief, exciters of sedition

'Tis our example that instils
In them the infection of our ills.
For, as some late philosophers
Have well observ'd, beasts that converse
With man take after him, as hogs
Get pigs all th' year, and bitches dogs.*
Just so, by our example, cattle
Learn to give one another battle.
We read, in Nero's time, the Heathen,
When they destroyed the Christian brethren,
They sew'd them in the skins of bears,
And then set dogs about their ears;
From whence, no doubt, th' invention came
Of this lewd antichristian game.
To this, quoth Ralpho, verily
The point seems very plain to me;
It is an antichristian game,
Unlawful both in thing and name.
First, for the name: the word bear-baiting
Is carnal, and of man's creating;
For certainly there's no such word
In all the Scripture on record;
Therefore unlawful, and a sin;†

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* This faculty is not unfrequently instanced by the ancients, to show the superior excellence of mankind. Xenophon, Mem. i. 4. 12. A Roman lady seems to have been of the same opinion. "Populia, Marci filia, miranti cuidam quid esset quapropter aliæ "bestiæ nunquam marem desiderarent nisi cum prægnantes vel- "lent fieri, respondit, *bestiæ enim sunt.*" Macrob. Saturn. lib. ii. cap. 5. Vide etiam Just. Lipsii. Epist. Quæst. lib. v. epist. 3, et Andream Laurent. lib. viii. Hist. Anatom. Quæst. 22, ubi causas adducit cur brutæ gravidæ marem non admittunt, ut inter homines mulier.

† Some of the disciplinarians held, that the Scriptures were full and express on every subject, and that every thing was sinful, which was not there ordered to be done. Some of the Huguenots refused to pay rent to their landlords, unless they would produce a text of Scripture directing them to do so.

At a meeting of Cartwright, Travers, and other dissenting ministers in London, it was resolved, that such names as did savor either of Paganism or Popery should not be used, but only Scripture names; accordingly Snape refused to baptize a child by the name of Richard.

They formed popular arguments for deposing and murdering kings, from the examples of Saul, Agag, Jeroboam, Jehoran, and the like.

This reminds me of a story I have heard, and which, perhaps, is recorded among Joe Miller's Jests, of a countryman going along the street, in the time of Cromwell, and inquiring the way to St. Anne's church—the person inquired of, happening to be a Presbyterian, said, he knew no such person as *Saint* Anne; going a little farther, he asked another man which was the way to

And so is, second'y, the thing:
A vile assembly 'tis, that can
No more be proved by Scripture, than
Provincial, classic, national;*
Mere human creature-cobwebs all.
Thirdly, It is idolatrous;
For when men run a-whoring thus
With their inventions,† whatsoe'er
The thing be, whether dog or bear,
It is idolatrous and pagan,
No less than worshipping of Dagon.
Quoth Hudibras, I smell a rat;
Ralpho thou dost prevaricate;
For though the thesis which thou lay'st
Be true, ad amussim,‡ as thou say'st;
For the bear-baiting should appear,
Jure divino, lawfuller
Than synods are, thou dost deny,
Totidem verbis—so do I;
Yet there's a fallacy in this;
For if by sly homœosis,§
Thou wouldst sophistically imply
Both are unlawful—I deny.
And I, quoth Ralpho, do not doubt
But bear baiting may be made out,
In gospel-times, as lawful as is
Provincial, or parochial classis;
And that both are so near of kin,

Anne's church? he being a cavalier, said, Anne was a Saint before he was born, and would be after he was hanged, and gave him no information.

* Ralpho here shows his independent principles, and his aversion to the Presbyterian forms of church government. If the squire had adopted the knight's sentiments, this curious dispute could not have been introduced. The vile assembly here means the bear-baiting, but alludes typically to the assembly of divines.

† A Scripture phrase used. Psalm cvi. ver. 38.

‡ Exactly true, and according to rule.

§ That is, an explanation of a thing by something resembling it.

At this place two lines are omitted in several editions, particularly in those corrected by the author. They run thus:

Tussis pro crepitu, an art
Under a cough to slur a f—rt.

The edition of 1704 has replaced them: they were omitted in the poet's corrected copy; probably he thought them indelicate: the phrase is translated from the Greek.

Βὴξ ἀντὶ πορδῆς. ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ προσποιεμένων ἕτερον τὶ πράττειν. παρ ὅσον οἱ πέρδοντες λανθάνειν πειρώμενοι, προσποιοῦνται βήττειν. Suidas in Voc.

And like in all, as well as sin,
That, put 'em in a bag and shake 'em,
Yourself o' th' sudden would mistake 'em,
And not know which is which, unless
You measure by their wickedness;
For 'tis not hard t' imagine whether
O' th' two is worst, tho' I name neither
Quoth Hudibras, Thou offer'st much,
But art not able to keep touch.
Mira de lente,* as 'tis i' the adage,
Id est, to make a leek a cabbage;
Thou canst at best but overstrain
A paradox, and th' own hot brain;
For what can synods have at all
With bear that's analogical?
Or what relation has debating
Of church-affairs with bear-baiting?
A just comparison still is
Of things ejusdem generis;
And then what genus rightly doth
Include and comprehend them both?
If animal, both of us may
As justly pass for bears as they;
For we are animals no less,
Although of diff'rent specieses.†
But, Ralpho, this is no fit place,
Nor time, to argue out the case:
For now the field is not far off,
Where we must give the world a proof
Of deeds, not words, and such as suit
Another manner of dispute:
A controversy that affords
Actions for arguments, not words;
Which we must manage at a rate
Of prowess, and conduct adequate
To what our place and fame doth promise,
And all the godly expect from us.
Nor shall they be deceiv'd, unless

---

* Δεινὰ περὶ φακῆς: A great stir about nothing.
Great cry and little wool, as they say when any one talks much, and proves nothing. The following lines stand thus, in some editions, viz.:

Thou wilt at best but suck a bull,
Or sheer swine, all cry, and no wool.

† Why should we not read, Although of different species? So also in Part ii. Canto iii. v. 317.

W' are slurred and outed by success;
Success, the mark no mortal wit,
Or surest hand can always hit:
For whatsoe'er we perpetrate,
We do but row, w' are steer'd by fate,* 880
Which in success oft disinherits,
For spurious causes, noblest merits.
Great actions are not always true sons
Of great and mighty resolutions;
Nor do the bold'st attempts bring forth 885
Events still equal to their worth;
But sometimes fail, and in their stead
Fortune and cowardice succeed.
Yet we have no great cause to doubt,
Our actions still have borne us out; 890
Which, tho' they're known to be so ample
We need not copy from example;
We're not the only persons durst
Attempt this province, nor the first.
In northern clime a val'rous knight† 895
Did whilom kill his bear in fight,
And wound a fiddler: we have both
Of these the objects of our wroth,
And equal fame and glory from
Th' attempt, or victory to come. 900
'Tis sung, there is a valiant Mamaluke
In foreign land, yclep'd ——‡

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* The Presbyterians were strong fatalists, and great advocates for predestination. Virgil says, Æn. ix. l. 95:

> O genetrix! quo fata vocas? aut quid petis istis?
> Mortaline manu factæ immortale carinæ
> Fas habeant?

† Hudibras encourages himself by two precedents; first, that of a gentleman who killed a bear and wounded a fiddler; and secondly, that of Sir Samuel Luke, who had often, as a magistrate, been engaged in similar adventures. He was proud to resemble the one in this particular exploit, and the other in his general character.

There were several, in those days, who, like Sir Hudibras, set themselves violently to oppose bear-baiting. Oliver Cromwell is said to have shot several bears; and the same is said of Colonel Pride. See note ante, ver. 752, and Harleian Miscellany, vol. iii. p. 132.

‡ The break is commonly filled up with the name of Sir Samuel Luke. See the note at line 14. The word Mamluck signifies acquired, possessed: and the Mamlukes or Mamalukes were persons carried off, in their childhood, by merchants or banditti, from Georgia, Circassia, Natolia, and the various provinces of the Ottoman empire, and afterwards sold in Constantinople and Grand Cairo. The grandees of Egypt, who had a similar ori-

To whom we have been oft compar'd
For person, parts, address, and beard;
Both equally reputed stout,
And in the same cause both have fought:
He oft, in such attempts as these,
Came off with glory and success:
Nor will we fail in th' execution,
For want of equal resolution.
Honor is, like a widow, won
With brisk attempt and putting on;
With ent'ring manfully and urging;
Not slow approaches, like a virgin.
This said, as once the Phrygian knight,*
So ours, with rusty steel did smite
His Trojan horse, and just as much
He mended pace upon the touch;
But from his empty stomach groan'd,
Just as that hollow beast did sound.
And, angry, answer'd from behind,
With brandish'd tail and blast of wind.
So have I seen, with armed heel,
A wight bestride a Common-weal,†
While still the more he kick'd and spurr'd,
The less the sullen jade has stirred.‡

---

gin, bring them up in their houses. They often rise first to be cachefs or lieutenants, and then to be beys or petty tyrants. Volney's Travels. Thus, in the English civil wars, many rose from the lowest rank in life to considerable power.

* Laocoon; who, at the siege of Troy, struck the wooden horse with his spear—

> Sic fatus, validis ingentem viribus hastam
> In latus inque feri curvam compagibus alvum
> Contorsit: stetit illa tremens, uteroque recusso
> Insonuere cavæ gemitumque dedere cavernæ.
>
> *Virg. Æneid.* ii. 50.

† Our poet might possibly have in mind a print engraven in Holland. It represented a cow, the emblem of the Commonwealth, with the king of Spain on her back kicking and spurring her; the queen of England before, stopping and feeding her; the prince of Orange milking her; and the duke of Anjou behind pulling her back by the tail. Heylin's Cosmog. After the Spaniards, in a war of forty years, had spent a hundred millions of crowns, and had lost four hundred thousand men, they were forced to acknowledge the independence of the Dutch provinces, and conclude a peace with them: yet, strange to tell, another nation did not grow wise by this example.

‡ Mr. Butler had been witness to the refractory humor of the nation, not only under the weak government of Richard Cromwell, but in many instances under the more adroit and resolute management of Oliver Both father and son have been com

pared to the riders of a restive horse by some loyal songsters the following lines probably allude to Oliver:—

Nol, a rank rider, got fast in the saddle,
And made her shew tricks, and curvet and rebound:
She quickly perceived he rode widdle waddle,
And like his* coach-horse threw his highness to ground
Then Dick, being lame, rode holding the pummel,
Not having the wit to get hold of the rein:
But the jade did so snort at the sight of a Cromwell,
That poor Dick and his kindred turned footmen again.

See the Collection of Loyal Songs, reprinted 1731, vol. ii. p. 281

* This alludes to an accident that befell the Protector Sept. 29, who must needs drive his coach himself: the horses ran away, and threw him amongst them, whereby he was in great danger

PART I CANTO II.

THE ARGUMENT.

The catalogue and character
Of th' enemies' best men of war,*
Whom, in a bold harangue, the Knight
Defies, and challenges to fight:
H' encounters Talgol, routs the Bear,
And takes the Fiddler prisoner,
Conveys him to enchanted castle,
There shuts him fast in wooden Bastile.

---

* Butler's description of the combatants resembles the list of warriors in the Iliad and Æneid, and especially the labored characters in the Theban war, both in Æschylus and Euripides Septem ad Thebas v. 383; Icetid. v. 362; Phœnis. v. 1139

HUDIBRAS.

CANTO II.

THERE was an ancient sage philosopher
That had read Alexander Ross over,*
And swore the world, as he could prove,
Was made of fighting, and of love.
Just so romances are, for what else
Is in them all but love and battles?†

* Empedocles, a Pythagorean philosopher and poet, held, that friendship and discord were principles which regulated the four elements that compose the universe. The first occasioned their coalition, the second their separation, or, in the poet's own words, (preserved in Diogen. Laert. edit. Meibom. vol. i. p. 538,)

Ἄλλοτε μὲν φιλότητι συνερχόμεν' εἰς ἓν ἅπαντα,
Ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ δίχ' ἕκαστα φορεύμενα νείκεος ἔχθει.

See more in Mer. Casaubon's note on the passage.

The great anachronism increases the humour. Empedocles, the philosopher here alluded to, lived about 2100 years before Alexander Ross.

"Agrigentinum quidem, doctum quendam virum, carminibus "græcis vaticinatum ferunt: quæ in rerum natura, totoque mun- "do constarent, quæque moverentur, ea contrahere amicitiam, "dissipare discordiam." Cicero de Amicitiâ.

The Spectator, No. 60, says, he has heard these lines of Hudibras more frequently quoted than the finest pieces of wit in the whole poem:—the jingle of the double rhime has something in it that tickles the ear. Alexander Ross was a very voluminous writer, and chaplain to Charles the First; but most of his books were written in the reign of James the First. He answered Sir Thomas Brown's Pseudoxia and Religio Medici, under the title of Medicus Medicatus.

† Mr. Butler, in his MS. Common-place Book, says,

Love and fighting is the sum
Of all romances, from Tom Thumb
To Arthur, Gondibert, and Hudibras.

Of lovers, the poet in his MS. says,

Lovers, like wrestlers, when they do not lay
Their hold below the girdle, use fair play.

He adds in prose—Although Love is said to overcome all things, yet at long-run, there is nothing almost that does not overcome Love; whereby it seems, Love does not know how to use its victory.

O' th' first of these w' have no great matter
To treat of, but a world o' th' latter,
In which to do the injur'd right,
We mean in what concerns just fight.
Certes, our Authors are to blame,
For to make some well-sounding name*
A pattern fit for modern knights
To copy out in frays and fights,
Like those that do a whole street raze,†
To build another in the place;
They never care how many others
They kill, without regard of mothers,‡
Or wives, or children, so they can
Make up some fierce, dead-doing man,§
Compos'd of many ingredient valours,
Just like the manhood of nine tailors:
So a wild Tartar,‖ when he spies
A man that's handsome, valiant, wise,
If he can kill him, thinks t' inherit
His wit, his beauty, and his spirit;
As if just so much he enjoy'd,
As in another is destroy'd:
For when a giant's slain in fight,
And mow'd o'erthwart, or cleft downright,
It is a heavy case, no doubt,
A man should have his brains beat out,
Because he's tall, and has large bones,
As men kill beavers for their stones.¶

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* Γλαῦκόν τε, Μέδοντά τε, Θερσίλοχόν τε.—Homer. 17. 216. Copied exactly by Virgil. Æn. vi. 483.

Glaucumque, Medontaque, Thersilochumque.

This is imitated in all the romances of our author's time.

† Alluding to the Protector Somerset, who, in the reign of Edward VI., pulled down two churches, part of St. Paul's, and three bishop's houses, to build Somerset House in the Strand.

‡ —— bellaque matribus
Detestata —— Hor. b. i. od. 1.

§ Thus Beaumont and Fletcher—"Stay thy dead-doing hand."

‖ In Carazan, a province to the north-east of Tartary, Dr. Heylin says, "they have an use, when any stranger comes into "their houses of an handsome shape, to kill him in the night; "not out of desire of spoil, or to eat his body; but that the soul "of such a comely person might remain among them."

¶ That beavers bite off their testicles is a vulgar error: but what is here implied is true enough, namely, that the testes, or their capsulæ, furnish a medicinal drug of value.

—— imitatus castora qui se
Eunuchum ipse facit, cupiens evadere damno
Testiculorum; adeo medicatum intelligit inguen.
Juvenal. Sat. xii. l. 34

But, as for our part, we shall tell
The naked truth of what befell,
And as an equal friend to both
The Knight and Bear, but more to troth;*
With neither faction shall take part,
But give to each a due desert,
And never coin a formal lie on't,
To make the Knight o'ercome the giant.
This b'ing profest, we've hopes enough,
And now go on where we left off.
They rode, but authors having not
Determin'd whether pace or trot,
That is to say, whether tollutation,
As they do term't, or succussation,†
We leave it, and go on, as now
Suppose they did, no matter how;
Yet some, from subtle hints, have got
Mysterious light it was a trot:
But let that pass; they now begun
To spur their living engines on:
For as whipp'd tops and bandy'd balls,
The learned hold, are animals;‡
So horses they affirm to be
Mere engines made by geometry,
And were invented first from engines,
As Indian Britains were from Penguins.§

* "Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas."

† Tollutation is pacing, or ambling, moving per latera, as Sir Thomas Brown says, that is, lifting both legs of one side together—Succussation, or trotting, that is, lifting one foot before, and the cross foot behind.

‡ The atomic philosophers, Democritus, Epicurus, &c., and some of the moderns likewise, as Des Cartes, Hobbes, and others, will not allow animals to have a spontaneous and living principle in them, but maintain that life and sensation are generated out of matter, from the contexture of atoms, or some peculiar composition of magnitudes, figures, sites, and motions, and consequently that they are nothing but local motion and mechanism. By which argument tops and balls, whilst they are in motion, seem to be as much animated as dogs and horses. Mr. Boyle, in his Experiments, printed in 1659, observes how like animals (men excepted) are to mechanical instruments.

§ This is meant to burlesque the idea of Mr. Selden, and others, that America had formerly been discovered by the Britons or Welsh; which they had inferred from the similarity of some words in the two languages; Penguin, the name of a bird, with a white head in America, in British signifies a white rock. Mr. Selden, in his note on Drayton's Polyolbion, says, that Madoc, brother to David ap Owen, prince of Wales, made a sea voyage to Florida, about the year 1170.

David Powell, in his history of Wales, reporteth that one Ma-

So let them be, and, as I was saying,
They their live engines ply'd,* not staying
Until they reach'd the fatal champaign
Which th' enemy did then encamp on;
The dire Pharsalian plain,† where battle
Was to be wag'd 'twixt puissant cattle,
And fierce auxiliary men,
That came to aid their brethren;‡
Who now began to take the field,
As knight from ridge of steed beheld.
For, as our modern wits behold,
Mounted a pick-back on the old,§
Much farther off, much farther he
Rais'd on his aged beast, could see;
Yet not sufficient to descry
All postures of the enemy:
Wherefore he bids the squire ride further,
T' observe their numbers, and their order;
That when their motions they had known,
He might know how to fit his own.
Meanwhile he stopp'd his willing steed,
To fit himself for martial deed:
Both kinds of metal he prepar'd
Either to give blows, or to ward;

---

doc, son of Owen Gwinedsh, prince of Wales, some hundred years before Columbus discovered the West Indies, sailed into those parts and planted a colony. The simile runs thus; horses are said to be invented from engines, and things without sense and reason, as Welshmen are said to have sailed to the Indies; both upon the like grounds, and with as much probability.

My worthy and ingenious friend Mr. Pennant, though zealous for the honor of his native country, yet cannot allow his countrymen the merit of having sailed to America before the time of Columbus: the proper name of these birds, saith he, (Philosoph. Transactions, vol. lviii. p. 96,) is Pinguin, propter pinguedinem, on account of their fatness: it has been corrupted to Penguen. so that some have imagined it a Welsh word, signifying a white head: besides, the two species of birds that frequent America under that name, have *black* heads, not white ones.

Our poet rejoices in an opportunity of laughing at his old friend Selden, and ridiculing some of his eccentric notions.

* That is, Hudibras and his Squire spurred their horses.

† Alluding to Pharsalia, where Julius Cæsar gained his signal victory.

‡ The last word is lengthened into bretheren, for metre sake

§ Ridiculing the disputes formerly subsisting between the advocates for ancient and modern learning. Sir William Temple observes: that as to knowledge, the moderns must have more than the ancients, because they have the advantage both of theirs and their own: which is commonly illustrated by a dwarf standing upon a giant's shoulders, and therefore seeing more and further than the giant.

Courage and steel, both of great force,
Prepar'd for better, or for worse.
His death-charg'd pistols he did fit well,
Drawn out from life-preserving vittle ;*
These being prim'd with force he labor'd
To free's blade from retentive scabbard ;
And after many a painful pluck,
From rusty durance he bail'd tuck :
Then shook himself, to see what prowess
In scabbard of his arms sat loose ;
And, rais'd upon his desp'rate foot,
On stirrup-side he gaz'd about,†
Portending blood, like blazing star,
The beacon of approaching war.‡
The Squire advanc'd with greater speed
Than could b' expected from his steed ;§
But far more in returning made ;
For now the foe he had survey'd,
Rang'd, as to him they did appear,
With van, main battle, wings, and rear.
I' th' head of all this warlike rabble,
Crowdero march'd expert and able.‖
Instead of trumpet, and of drum,
That makes the warrior's stomach come,
Whose noise whets valor sharp, like beer
By thunder turn'd to vinegar ;
For if a trumpet sound, or drum beat,
Who has not a month's mind to combat ?

* The reader will remember how the holsters were furnished. The antithesis between *death-charged* pistols, and *life-preserving* vittle is a kind of figure much used by Shakspeare, and the poets before Mr. Butler's time ; very frequently by Butler himself.

† It appears from c. i. v. 407, that he had but one stirrup.

‡ Diri cometæ, quidni ? quia crudelia atque immania, famem bella, clades, cædes, morbos, eversiones urbium, regionum vasti tractes, hominum interitus portendere creduntur.

§ In some editions we read,

Ralpho rode on with no less speed,
Than Hugo in the forest did.

Hugo was aid-de-camp to Gondibert. B. I. c. ii. St. 66.

‖ This is said, by Sir Roger L'Estrange, to be designed for one Jackson, a milliner, who lived in the New Exchange in the Strand. He had lost a leg in the Parliament's service, and went about fiddling from one ale-house to another : but Butler does not point his satire at such low game. His nickname is taken from the instrument he used : Crowde, fiddle, crwth, fidicula, in the British language.

A squeaking engine he apply'd
Unto his neck, on north-east side,*
Just where the hangman does dispose,
To special friends, the fatal noose:
For 'tis great grace, when statesmen straight
Dispatch a friend, let others wait.
His warped ear hung o'er the strings,
Which was but souse to chitterlings:†
For guts, some write, ere they are sodden,
Are fit for music, or for pudden;
From whence men borrow ev'ry kind
Of minstrelsy, by string or wind.
His grisly beard was long and thick,
With which he strung his fiddle-stick;
For he to horse-tail scorn'd to owe
For what on his own chin did grow.
Chiron, the four-legg'd bard, had both
A beard and tail of his own growth;
And yet by authors 'tis averr'd,
He made use only of his beard.
In Staffordshire, where virtuous worth‡
Does raise the minstrelsy, not birth:

---

* It is difficult to say why Butler calls the left the north-east side. A friend of Dr. Gray's supposes it to allude to the manner of burying; the feet being put to the east, the left side would be to the north, or north-east. Some authors have asserted, and Euseb. Nuremberg, a learned Jesuit, in particular, that the body of man is magnetical; and being placed in a boat, a very small one we must suppose, of cork or leather, will never rest till the head respecteth the north. Paracelsus had also a microcosmical conceit about the body of a man, dividing and differencing it according to the cardinal points; making the face the east, the back the west, &c., of this microcosm: and therefore, working upon human ordure, and by long preparation rendering it odoriferous, he terms it Zibetta occidentalis. Now in either of these positions, the body lying along on its back with its head towards the north, or standing upright with the face towards the east, the reader will find the place of the fiddle on the left breast to be due north-east. One, or both of these conceits, it is probable, our poet had in view; and very likely met with them, as I have done, in a book entitled Brown's Vulgar Errors, b. ii. ch. 3.

Ovid, dividing the world into two hemispheres, calls one the right hand, and the other the left. The augurs of old, in their divinations, and priests in their sacrifices, turned their faces towards the east; in which posture the north, being the left hand, agrees exactly with the position in which Crowdero would hold his fiddle.

† Souse is the pig's ear, and chitterlings are the pig's guts: the former alludes to Crowdero's ear, which lay upon the fiddle; the latter to the strings of the fiddle, which are made of catgut.

‡ This alludes to the custom of bull-running in the manor of Tudbury in Staffordshire, where a charter is granted by John of

Where bulls do choose the boldest king,
And ruler o'er the men of string,
As once in Persia,* 'tis said,
Kings were proclaim'd by a horse that neigh'd;
He, bravely vent'ring at a crown,
By chance of war was beaten down,
And wounded sore: his leg then broke,
Had got a deputy of oak;
For when a shin in fight is cropt,
The knee with one of timber's propt,
Esteem'd more honorable than the other,
And takes place, tho' the younger brother.†
Next march'd brave Orsin,‡ famous for
Wise conduct, and success in war;
A skilful leader, stout, severe,
Now marshal to the champion bear.
With truncheon tipp'd with iron head,
The warrior to the lists he led;
With solemn march, and stately pace,
But far more grave and solemn face;
Grave as the emperor of Pegu,
Or Spanish potentate, Don Diego.§
This leader was of knowledge great,
Either for charge, or for retreat:

Gaunt, king of Castile and Leon, and duke of Lancaster, (and confirmed by inspeximus and grant of Henry VI.,) dated 22d of August, in the fourth year of the reign of our most gracious (most sweet, tres dulce) king Richard II., (A. D. 1380,) appointing a king of the minstrels or musicians, (sive histriones,) who is to have a bull for his property, which shall be turned out by the prior of Tudbury, if his minstrels, or any one of them, could cut off a piece of his skin before he runs into Derbyshire; but if the bull gets into that county sound and unhurt, the prior may have his bull again. Exemplification of Henry VI. is dated 1442.

This custom being productive of much mischief, was, at the request of the inhabitants, and by order of the duke of Devonshire, lord of the manor, discontinued about the year 1782. See Blount's Ancient Tenures, and Jocular Customs.

* This relates to a story told by Herodotus, lib. iii., of the seven princes, who, having destroyed the usurper of the crown of Persia, were all of them in competition for it: at last they agreed to meet on horseback at an appointed place, and that he should be acknowledged sovereign whose horse first neighed: Darius's groom, by a subtle trick, contrived that his master should succeed.

† A person with a wooden leg generally puts that leg first in walking.

‡ This character was designed for Joshua Goslin, who kept bears at Paris garden, Southwark, as says Sir Roger L'Estrange in his Key to Hudibras.

§ See Purchas's Pilgrims and Lady's Travels into Spain.

Knew when t'engage his bear pell-mell,
And when to bring him off as well,
So lawyers, lest the bear defendant,
And plaintiff dog, should make an end on't,*
Do stave and tail with writs of error,†
Reverse of judgment, and demurrer,
To let them breathe awhile, and then
Cry whoop, and set them on agen.
As Romulus a wolf did rear,
So he was dry-nurs'd by a bear,‡
That fed him with the purchas'd prey
Of many a fierce and bloody fray;

* Mr. Butler probably took this idea from a book entitled The princely Pleasure of Kenilworth in Warwickshire, in 1575.

"The beares wear brought foorth intoo coourt, the dogs set "too them, to argu the points, eeven face to face; they had "learned coounsell also a both parts;—If the dog in pleadyng "would pluck the beare by the throte, the beare with travers "would claw him again by the skaip, &c."

† The comparison of a lawyer with a bearward is here kept up; the one parts his clients, and keeps them at bay by writ of error and demurrer, as the latter does the dogs and the bear, by interposing his staff, (hence stave,) and holding the dogs by the tails. See the character of a lawyer in Butler's Genuine Remains, vol. ii. p. 164, where the severity and bitterness of the satire, and the verses which follow, may be accounted for by the poet's having married a widow, whom he thought a great fortune, but perhaps, through the unskilfulness or roguery of the lawyer, it being placed on bad security, was lost. This he frequently alludes to in his MS. Common-place Book; he says the lawyer never ends a suit, but prunes it, that it may grow the faster, and yield a greater increase of strife.

> The conquering foe they soon assailed,
> First Trulla stav'd, and Cerdon tailed.

The improvements in modern practice, and the acuteness of Butler's observation, have been able to add little to the picture left us by Ammianus Marcellinus of the lawyers of ancient Rome. See lib. xxx. cap. iv. Butler's simile has been translated into Latin, [by Dr. Harmar, sometime under-master of Westminster School.]

> Sic legum mystæ, ne forsan pax foret, Ursam
> Inter tutantem sese, actoremque molossum
> Faucibus injiciunt clavos, dentesque refigunt,
> Luctantesque canes coxis, remorisque revellunt:
> Errores jurisque moras obtendere certi,
> Judiciumque prius revocare ut prorsus iniquum.
> Tandem post aliquod breve respiramen utrinque,
> Ut pugnas iterent, crebris hortatibus urgent.
> Eja! agite o cives, iterumque in prœlia trudunt.

‡ That is, maintained by the diversion which this bear afforded the rabble. It may allude likewise, as Dr. Grey observes, to the story of Valentine and Orson, ch. iv., where Orson is suckled by a bear, as Romulus was by a wolf.

Bred up, where discipline most rare is,
In military garden Paris:*
For soldiers heretofore did grow
In gardens, just as weeds do now,
Until some splay-foot politicians
T' Apollo offer'd up petitions,†
For licensing a new invention
They'ad found out of an antique engin,
To root out all the weeds, that grow
In public gardens, at a blow,
And leave th' herbs standing. Quoth Sir Sun,‡
My friends, that is not to be done.
Not done! quoth Statesmen: Yes, an't please ye,
When 'tis once known you'll say 'tis easy.
Why then let's know it, quoth Apollo:
We'll beat a drum, and they'll all follow.

---

* At Paris garden, in Southwark, near the river side, there was a play-house, at which Ben Jonson is said to have acted the part of Zuliman: the place was long noted for the entertainment of bear-baiting. The custom of resorting thither was censured by one Crowley, who wrote in the latter time of Henry VIII.—Robert Crowley, I believe, was a Northamptonshire man, of Magdalene College, Oxford, about the year 1534, and 1542. In Bod. Lib., see his 31 Epigrams.

At Paris garden, each Sunday, a man shall not fail
To find two or three hundred for the bearward vale,
One halfpenny a piece they use for to give;
When some have not more in their purses, I believe.
Well, at the last day their conscience will declare,
That the poor ought to have all that they may spare.
If you therefore give to see a bear fight,
Be sure God his curse upon you will light.

These barbarous diversions continued in fashion till they were suppressed by the fanatics in the civil wars. Bear-baiting was forbid by an act of Parliament, 1 Ch. I., which act was continued and enforced by several subsequent acts. James the first instituted a society, which he called of the military garden, for the training of the soldiers and practising feats of arms, and as Paris was then the chief place for polite education, some have imagined this place was from thence called the military garden Paris: others suppose it to be called garden Paris from the name of the owner.

† The whole passage, here a little inverted, is certainly taken from Boccalini's Advertisement from Parnassus, cent. i. advert. 16, p. 27, ed, 1656, where the gardeners address Apollo, beseeching him, that, as he had invented drums and trumpets, by means of which princes could enlist and destroy their idle and dissolute subjects; so he would teach them some more easy and expeditious method of destroying weeds and noxious plants, than that of removing them with rakes and spades.

‡ "Sir Sun," is an expression used by Sir Philip Sydney in Pembroke's Arcadia, book i. p. 70. See likewise Butler's Remains, vol. ii. p. 248.

A drum! quoth Phœbus; Troth, that's true,
A pretty invention, quaint and new:
But tho' of voice and instrument
We are, 'tis true, chief president,
We such loud music don't profess,
The devil's master of that office,
Where it must pass; if 't be a drum,
He'll sign it with Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.*
To him apply yourselves, and he
Will soon dispatch you for his fee.
They did so, but it prov'd so ill,
They'ad better let 'em grow there still.†
But to resume what we discoursing
Were on before, that is, stout Orsin;
That which so oft by sundry writers,
Has been apply'd t' almost all fighters,
More justly may b' ascrib'd to this
Than any other warrior, viz.
None ever acted both parts bolder,
Both of a chieftain and a soldier.‡
He was of great descent and high
For splendor and antiquity,
And from celestial origine,
Deriv'd himself in a right line;
Not as the ancient heroes did,
Who, that their base births might be hid,§

---

* During the civil wars, the parliament granted patents for new inventions; these, and all other orders and ordinances, were signed by their clerk, with this addition to his name—clerk of the parliament house of commons. The devil is here represented as directing and governing the parliament. Monopolies and granting of patents had occasioned great uneasiness in the reign of James I., when an act passed, that all patents should regularly pass before the king and council, upon the report of the attorney-general.

† The expedient of arming the discontented and unprincipled multitude, is adventurous, and often proves fatal to the state.

‡ A satire on common characters given by historians.

§ Ion thus addressed his mother Creusa, when she had told him that he was son of Apollo—

Δεῦρ' ἔλθ'· ἐς οὖς γὰρ τοὺς λόγους εἰπεῖν θέλω
Καὶ περικαλύψαι τοῖσι πράγμασι σκότον.
Ὅρα σὺ, μῆτερ, μὴ σφαλεῖσα παρθένος,
Ἐγγίνεται νοσήματ' εἰς κρυπτοὺς γάμους.
Ἔπειτα τῷ θεῷ προστιθῆς τὴν αἰτίαν.
Καὶ τοὐμὸν αἰσχρὸν ἀποφυγεῖν πειρωμένη,
Φοίβῳ τεκεῖν με φῆς, τεκοῦσ' οὐκ ἐκ θεοῦ.
Euripides, Ion. 1521.

Knowing they were of doubtful gender,
And that they came in at a windore,
Made Jupiter himself, and others
O' th' gods, gallants to their own mothers,
To get on them a race of champions,
Of which old Homer first made lampoons;
Arctophylax, in northern sphere,
Was his undoubted ancestor;
From whom his great forefathers came,
And in all ages bore his name:
Learn'd he was in med'c'nal lore,
For by his side a pouch he wore,
Replete with strange hermetic powder,*
That wounds nine miles point-blank would solder;†
By skilful chymist, with great cost,
Extracted from a rotten post;‡
But of a heav'nlier influence
Than that which mountebanks dispense;
Tho' by Promethean fire made,§
As they do quack that drive that trade
For as when slovens do amiss
At others' doors, by stool or piss,
The learned write, a red-hot spit
B'ing prudently apply'd to it,
Will convey mischief from the dung‖
Unto the part that did the wrong;
So this did healing, and as sure
As that did mischief, this would cure.
Thus virtuous Orsin was endu'd
With learning, conduct, fortitude
Incomparable; and as the prince
Of poets, Homer, sung long since,

---

* Hermetic, i. e. chymical, from Hermes, Mercury; or perhaps so called from Hermes Trismegistus, a famous Egyptian philosopher.

† Meaning to banter the sympathetic powder, which was to effect the cure of wounds at a distance. It was much in fashion in the reign of James the First. See Sir Kenelm Digby's discourse touching the cure of wounds by the powder of sympathy, translated from the French by R. White, gent., and printed 1658—Point-blank is a term in gunnery, signifying a horizontal level.

‡ Useless powders in medicine, are called powders of post.

§ That is, heat of the sun: so in Canto iii. v. 628. *Promethean powder*, that is, powder calcined by the sun, for the chief ingredient in sympathetic powder was calcined by the sun.

‖ Still ridiculing the sympathetic powder. See the treatise above-mentioned, where the poet's story of the spit is seriously told.

A skilful leech is better far,
Than half a hundred men of war;*
So he appear'd, and by his skill,
No less than dint of sword, cou'd kill.
The gallant Bruin march'd next him,
With visage formidably grim,
And rugged as a Saracen,
Or Turk of Mahomet's own kin,†
Clad in a mantle de la guerre
Of rough impenetrable fur;
And in his nose, like Indian king,
He wore, for ornament, a ring:
About his neck a threefold gorget,
As rough as trebled leathern target;
Armed, as heralds cant, and langued,
Or, as the vulgar say, sharp-fanged:‡
For as the teeth in beasts of prey
Are swords, with which they fight in fray
So swords, in men of war, are teeth,
Which they do eat their victle with.
He was, by birth, some authors write,
A Russian, some a Muscovite,
And 'mong the Cossacks had been bred,
Of whom we in diurnals read,
That serve to fill up pages here,
As with their bodies ditches there.
Scrimansky was his cousin-german,§
With whom he serv'd, and fed on vermin;

---

* Ἰητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων,
Ἰούς τ' ἐκτάμνειν ἐπί τ' ἤπια φάρμακα πάσσειν.
Homer. Iliad. b. xi. l. 514.

Leech is the old Saxon term for physician, derived from laec, lac, munus, reward; Chaucer uses the word leechcraft, to express the skill of a physician, and at this day we are accustomed to hear of beast leach, cow leech, &c. The glossary annexed to Gawin Douglas's Virgil says, Leiche, a physician or surgeon, Scot. Leech from the A. S. laec, lyce, lack, Isl. laeknare, Goth. leik, medicus, A. S. laecnian, laccinian, sanare, curare: laikinon. Belg.

† Mr. George Sandys, in his book of Travels, observes, that the Turks are generally well complexioned, of good stature, and the women of elegant beauty, except Mahomet's kindred, who are the most ill-favored people upon earth, branded, perhaps, by God (says he) for the sin of their seducing ancestor.

‡ Our author here banters the heralds, as he had before ral lied the lawyers and physicians.

§ Some favorite bear perhaps. Two of the Roman emperors, Maximilian and Valentinian, gave names to bears, which they kept for the daily pleasure of seeing them devour their subjects. The names of the executioners to Valentinian were Mica Au

And, when these fail'd, he'd suck his claws,
And quarter himself upon his paws:*
And tho' his countrymen, the Huns,
Did stew their meat between their bums
And th' horses' backs o'er which they straddle,†
And every man ate up his saddle;
He was not half so nice as they,
But ate it raw when't came in's way.
He had trac'd countries far and near,
More than Le Blanc the traveller;
Who writes, he 'spous'd in India,‡
Of noble house, a lady gay,
And got on her a race of worthies,
As stout as any upon earth is.
Full many a fight for him between§
Talgol and Orsin oft' had been,
Each striving to deserve the crown
Of a sav'd citizen;‖ the one
To guard his bear, the other fought
To aid his dog; both made more stout

---

rea, and Innocentia. Amm. Marcellin. xxix. 3, et Lactant. de mort. persecutorum, cap. 21. The word *scrimatur* is interpreted rugit, aut buccinat. Du Cange from Papias. Ab iis diebus resident ac priorum pedum suctu vivunt. Plin. Nat. Hist., lib. viii. cap. 54.

* *And* quarter *himself upon his paws.*—A word ending in er before another beginning with a vowel, is often considered as ending in re, and cut off accordingly. See P. ii. c. ii. v. 367, and c. iii. v. 192, P. iii. c. i. v. 521, P. ii. c. i. v. 752, P. iii. c. i. v. 583, 622, 680, c. ii. v. 108, 468, c. iii. v. 684. Heroical Epistle, v. 284. Lady's Answer, v. 130. So in P. i. c. iii. v. 1286. *Whats'ever assembly's.* Thus bowre for bower, that is a chamber. See Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, vol. i. p. 52. The old poets took great liberties in varying the accents and terminations of many words: thus, countriè, ladiè, harpèr, fingèr, battèl, damsèl, &c., ibid. p. 37.

† This fact is related by Ammianus Marcellinus, xxxi. cap. ii 615, ed. Paris, 1681. With such fare did Azim Khan entertain Jenkinson, and other Englishmen, in their Travels to the Caspian sea from the river Volga.

"Tartaros esse perquam immundis moribus: si jurulentum "aliquid apponatur in mensam, nulla requirere cochlearia, sed "jus volâ manus haurire; enectorum equorum carnem devorare "nullo foco admotam; offas tantum sub equestri sella expli- "care, quibus equino calore tepefactis, tanquam opipare condi- "tis, vesci." Busbequii, Ep. iv.

‡ Le Blanc tells this story of Aganda the daughter of Ismation.

§ That is, on his account.

‖ He, who saved the life of a Roman citizen, was entitled to a civic crown; so, in banter, says our author, were Talgol and Orsin, who fought hard to save the lives of the dogs and bears.

By sev'ral spurs of neighbourhood,
Church-fellow-membership, and blood;*
But Talgol, mortal foe to cows,
Never got ought of him but blows;
Blows hard and heavy, such as he
Had lent, repaid with usury.
Yet Talgol was of courage stout,
And vanquish'd oft'ner than he fought;
Inur'd to labour, sweat, and toil,
And, like a champion, shone with oil;†
Right many a widow his keen blade,
And many fatherless had made;
He many a boar, and huge dun-cow
Did, like another Guy, o'erthrow;‡
But Guy, with him in fight compar'd,
Had like the boar or dun-cow far'd:
With greater troops of sheep h' had fought
Than Ajax, or bold Don Quixot;§
And many a serpent of fell kind,
With wings before, and stings behind,
Subdu'd;|| as poets say, long agone,
Bold Sir George Saint George did the dragon.¶

* Both were of the same fanatic sect, and inured to scenes of cruelty from their employments.

† He was a butcher; and as greasy as the Greek and Roman wrestlers, who anointed themselves with oil to make their joints more supple, and prevent strains.

‡ The story of Guy, earl of Warwick, and the dun-cow killed by him at Dunsmore-heath, in Warwickshire, is well known in romance. He lived about the tenth century. A rib of this cow is now shown in Warwick castle: but more probably it is some bone of a whale.

§ Ajax, when mad with rage for having lost the armor of Achilles, attacked and slew a flock of sheep, mistaking them for the Grecian princes. See Sophocles, Ajax. l. 29. Horace, Satire iii. book ii. l. 197. Don Quixote encountered a flock of sheep, and imagined they were the giant Alipharnon of Tapobrana.

|| Meaning the flies, wasps, and hornets, which prey upon the butchers' meat, and were killed by the valiant Talgol. Fell is a Saxon word, and signifies cruel, deadly: hence the term fellow is used to denote a cruel wicked man: perhaps fellow in a better sense may signify companion, from feel, fellow-feeling.

¶ Sir George, because tradition makes him a soldier as well as a saint: or a hero (eques) as well as a martyr. But all heroes in romance have the appellation of Sir, as Sir Belianis of Greece, Sir Palmerin, &c. As to the patron saint of England, the legendary accounts assign the exploits and sufferings of George the Martyr to the times of Diocletian, or even to an era still earlier, before George, the Arian bishop of Alexandria, was born; and the character given to that profligate prelate, by his contemporaries, Amm. Marcellinus and St. Epiphanius, is in direct variance with the high panegyric of the pious martyr, by

Nor engine, nor device polemic,
Disease, nor doctor epidemic,*
Tho' stored with deletery med'cines,†
Which whosoever took is dead since,
E'er sent so vast a colony
To both the under worlds as he;‡
For he was of that noble trade
That demi-gods and heroes made,§
Slaughter and knocking on the head,
The trade to which they all were bred;

Venantius Fortunatus in Justinian's time. Nor are the narratives of their deaths less inconsistent. All which considerations sufficiently invalidate the unsupported conjecture so invidiously adopted by some, that our guardian saint, instead of a Christian hero, was in reality an avaricious and oppressive heretical usurper of Athanasius's see. But to return.

There was a real Sir George St. George, who, with Sir Robert Newcomen, and Major Ormsby, was, in February, 1643, (about our poet's time,) made commissioner for the government of Connaught; and it is not improbable that this coincidence of names might strike forcibly on the playful imagination of Mr. Butler. It is whimsical too, that George Monk, in a collection of loyal songs, is said to have slain a most cruel dragon, meaning the Rump parliament; or, perhaps, the poet might mean to ridicule the Presbyterians, who refused even to call the apostles Peter and Paul saints, much more St. George, but in mockery called them Sir Peter, Sir Paul, Sir George.—The sword of St. George is thus ludicrously described.

His sword would serve for battle, or for dinner, if you please,
When it had slain a Cheshire man 'twould toast a Cheshire cheese.

* The plain meaning is—not military engine, nor stratagem, nor disease, nor doctor epidemic, ever destroyed so many. The inquisition, tortures, or persecutions, have nothing to do here. There is humor in joining the epithet epidemic to doctor, as well as to the disease; intimating, perhaps, that no constitution of the air is more dangerous than the approach of an itinerant practitioner of physic.

Πολλῶν ἰατρῶν εἶσοδός μ' ἀπώλεσεν.
[Ex incerto Comico ap. Grot.]

Thus Juvenal—

Quot Themisen ægros autumno occiderit uno.
Sat. x. 221.

Butler in his Genuine Remains, vol. ii. p. 304, says, "A mountebank is defined to be an epidemic physician."

† Deletery, noxious, dangerous, from δηλέω, δηλητήριον.

‡ Virgil, in his sixth Æneid, describes both the Elysian Fields and Tartarus as below, and not far asunder.

§ Very justly satirizing those that pride themselves on their military achievements. The general who massacres thousands, is called great and glorious; the assassin who kills a single man is hanged at Tyburn.

Ille crucem pretium sceleris tulet; hic diadema.
Juvenal. Sat. xiii. 105.

And is, like others, glorious when
'Tis great and large, but base, if mean;*
The former rides in triumph for it,
The latter in a two-wheel'd chariot,
For daring to profane a thing
So sacred, with vile bungleing.†
Next these the brave Magnano came,
Magnano, great in martial fame;
Yet, when with Orsin he wag'd fight,
'Tis sung he got but little by't:
Yet he was fierce as forest boar,
Whose spoils upon his back he wore,‡
As thick as Ajax' seven-fold shield,
Which o'er his brazen arms he held;
But brass was feeble to resist
The fury of his armed fist:
Nor could the hardest iron hold out
Against his blows, but they would through't
In magic he was deeply read,
As he that made the brazen head;§

* Julius Cæsar is said to have fought fifty battles, and to have killed of the Gauls alone, eleven hundred ninety-two thousand men, and as many more in his civil wars. In the inscription which Pompey placed in the temple of Minerva, he professed that he had slain, or vanquished and taken, two millions one hundred and eighty-three thousand men.

† The last word is here lengthened into bungleing for the sake of the metre.

‡ Meaning his budget made of pig's skin.

§ The device of the brazen head, which was to speak a prophecy at a certain time, had by some been imputed to Grossa Testa, bishop of Lincoln, as appears from Gower, the old Welsh poet. [The assertion of Gower's being from Wales is Caxton's; but there is every reason to believe he was of the Gower family of Stitenham in Yorkshire. See Todd's Illustration of the Lives and Writings of Gower and Chaucer.]

For of the great clerke Grostest
I rede, howe busy that he was
Upon the clergie an hede of bras
To forge, and make it for to telle
Of suche thynges as befelle:
And seven yeeres besinesse
He laide, but for the lachesse [negligence]
Of halfe a minute of an houre,
Fro first he began laboure,
He loste all that he had do.

Confessio Amantis, B. IV.

Others supposed that the design of making the brazen head originated with Albertus Magnus. But the generality of writers, and our poet among the rest, have ascribed it to Roger Bacon, a cordelier friar, who flourished in the thirteenth century, and is said to have known the use of the telescope. Mr. Beckwith, in

Profoundly skill'd in the black art,
As English Merlin, for his heart;*
But far more skilful in the spheres,
Than he was at the sieve and shears.†
He cou'd transform himself to colour,
As like the devil as a collier;
As like as hypocrites in show
Are to true saints, or crow to crow
Of warlike engines he was author,
Devis'd for quick dispatch of slaughter;‡
The cannon, blunderbuss, and saker,
He was th' inventor of, and maker:
The trumpet and the kettle-drum
Did both from his invention come.
He was the first that e'er did teach
To make, and how to stop, a breach.§

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his new edition of Blount's Fragmenta Antiquitatis, supposes Roger Bacon to have been born near Mekesburgh, now Mexborough, in the county of York, and that his famous brazen head was set up in a field at Rothwell, near Leeds.

His great knowledge caused him to be thought a magician; the superior of his order put him in prison on that account, from whence he was delivered, and died A. D. 1292, aged 78. Some, however, believe the story of the head to be nothing more than a moral fable.

* This alludes to William Lilly the astrologer.—Merlin was a Welsh magician, who lived about the year 500. He was reckoned the prince of enchanters; one that could outdo and undo the enchantments of all others. Spenser, book i. c. vii. 36.

> It Merlin was, which whylome did excell
> All living wightes in might of magicke spell.

There was also a Scotch Merlin, a prophet, called Merlinus Caledonius, or Merlin the Wild, who lived at Allewyd about the year 570. Geoffry of Monmouth hath written the fabulous history of both these persons: of the Briton, in his book de gestis Britonum, f. 51, ed. Ascens. 1508—of the Scot, in a Latin poem preserved in the Cotton Library. See Pinkerton's Inquiry into the History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 275.

† The literal sense would be, that he was skilful in the heavenly spheres; that is, was a great astrologer: but a sphere is properly any thing round, and the tinker's skill lay in mending pots and kettles, which are commonly of that shape. There was a kind of divination practised "impiâ fraude aut anili superstitione"—a sieve was put upon the point of a pair of shears, and expected to turn round when the person or thing inquired after was named. This silly method of applying for information is mentioned by Theocritus, Idyll. 3. It is called Coscinomantia.

‡ This seems to be introduced to keep up the comparison. Roger Bacon is said to have invented gunpowder. It has been observed, that gunpowder was invented by a priest, and printing by a soldier.

§ Tinkers are said to mend one hole, and make two.

A lance he bore with iron pike,
Th' one half wou'd thrust, the other strike;
And when their forces he had join'd,
He scorn'd to turn his parts behind.
He Trulla lov'd,* Trulla more bright
Than burnish'd armor of her knight;
A bold virago, stout, and tall,
As Joan of France, or English Mall;†
Thro' perils both of wind and limb,
Thro' thick and thin she follow'd him
In ev'ry adventure h' undertook,
And never him or it forsook:
At breach of wall, or hedge surprise,
She shar'd i' th' hazard, and the prize;
At beating quarters up, or forage,
Behav'd herself with matchless courage,
And laid about in fight more busily
Than th' Amazonian Dame Penthesile;‡
And tho' some critics here cry Shame,
And say our authors are to blame,
That, spite of all philosophers,
Who hold no females stout but bears,
And heretofore did so abhor
That women should pretend to war,
They would not suffer the stout'st dame
To swear by Hercules his name;§

* Trull is a profligate woman, that follows the camp. Trulla signifies the same in Italian. Casaubon derives it from the Greek ματρύλλη.—The character is said to have been intended for the daughter of one James Spencer.

† Joan d'Arc, commonly called the Maid of Orleans, has been sufficiently celebrated in the English histories of the reign of Henry VI. about the years 1428 and 1429.

English Moll was no less famous about the year 1670. Her real name was Mary Carlton; but she was more commonly distinguished by the title of Kentish Moll, or the German princess.—A renowned cheat and pickpocket, who was transported to Jamaica in 1671; and, being soon after discovered at large, was hanged at Tyburn, January 22, 1672-3. Memoirs of Mary Carlton were published 1673. Granger, in his Biographical History, calls her Mary Firth. See vol. ii. p. 408, ed. 8vo. She was commonly called English Mall. Thus Cleveland, p. 97, "certainly "it is under the same notion, as one whose pockets are picked "goes to Mal Cutpurse."

‡ In the first editions it is printed with more humor Penthesile. See Virgil, Æneid. i. 490.

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
Penthesilea furens, mediisque in millibus ardet,
Aurea subnectens exsertæ cingula mammæ
Bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.

§ The men and women, among the Romans, did not use the

Make feeble ladies in their works,
To fight like termagants and Turks *
To lay their native arms aside,
Their modesty, and ride astride ;† 390
To run a tilt at men and wield
Their naked tools in open field ;
As stout Armida, bold Thalestris,
And she that would have been the mistress
Of Gundibert, but he had grace, 395
And rather took a country lass :‡

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same oath, or swear by the same deity ; Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticæ, lib. xi. cap. 6 ; but commonly the oath of women was Castor ; of men Edepol, or Mehercule. According to Macrobius, the men did not swear by Castor, nor the women by Hercules ; but Edepol, or swearing by Pollux, was common to both.

* The word termagant now signifies a noisy and troublesome person, especially of the female sex. How it came by this signification I know not. Some derive it from the Latin ter magnus, felix ter et amplius ; but Junius thinks it compounded of the Anglo-Saxon ðÿþ, the superlative or third degree of comparison, and maga potens : thus the Saxon word eaðeg happy, ðÿþ eaðeg most happy.—In Chaucer's rime of sire Thopas, termagant appears to be the name of a deity. The giant sire Oliphaunt, swears by Termagaunt, line 13741. Bale, describing the threats used by some papist magistrates to his wife, speaks of them as "grennying upon her lyke termagaunts in a playe." And Hamlet in Shakspeare, (Act iii. sc. 2.) "I would have such a fellow whipp'd for o'erdoing Termagant, it out-herods Herod." The French romances corrupted the word into tervagaunt, and from them La Fontaine took it up, and has used it more than once in his Tales. Mr. Tyrwhitt informs us that this Saracen deity, in an old MS. romance in the Bodleian Library, is constantly called Tervagan.

Bishop Warburton very justly observes, that this passage is a fine satire on the Italian epic poets, Ariosto, Tasso, and others ; who have introduced their female warriors, and are followed in this absurdity by Spenser and Davenant.—Bishop Hurd, likewise, in his ingenious and elegant Letters on Chivalry, p. 12, says, "One of the strangest circumstances (in old romance) is that of "the women warriors. Butler, who saw it in this light, ridi-"cules it, as a most unnatural idea, with great spirit. Yet, in "these representations they did but copy from the manners of "the times. Anna Comnena tells us, that the wife of Robert "the Norman fought, side by side, with her husband in his "battles."

† Camden, in his account of Richmond, (Article Surrey, vol. i. col. 188, ed. 1722,) says, that Anne, wife of Richard II., daughter of the emperor Charles IV., taught the English women the present mode of riding, about the year 1388. Before which time they rode astride.—J. Gower, who dates his poem 16 Richard II., 1394, describing a company of ladies on horseback, says, "everich "one ride on side," p. 70, a. 2.

‡ The princess Rhodallud harbored a secret affection for Gondibert ; but he was more struck with the charms of the humble Birtha, daughter to the sage Astragon.

They say 'tis false, without all sense,
But of pernicious consequence
To government, which they suppose
Can never be upheld in prose:*
Strip nature naked to the skin,
You'll find about her no such thing.
It may be so, yet what we tell
Of Trulla, that's improbable,
Shall be depos'd by those have seen't,
Or, what's as good, produc'd in print;†
And if they will not take our word,
We'll prove it true upon record.
The upright Cerdon next advanc't,‡
Of all his race the valiant'st;
Cerdon the Great, renown'd in song,
Like Herc'les, for repair of wrong:
He rais'd the low, and fortify'd
The weak against the strongest side:§
Ill has he read, that never hit
On him in muses' deathless writ.‖

Courts she ne'er saw; yet courts could have outdone,
With untaught looks, and an unpractis'd heart.

* Butler loses no opportunity of rallying Sir William Davenant, and burlesquing his poem entitled Gondibert. Sir William, like many professional men, was much attached to his own line of science; and in his preface to Gondibert, endeavors to show, that neither divines, leaders of armies, statesmen, nor ministers of the law, could uphold the government without the aid of poetry.

† The vulgar imagine that every thing which they see in print must be true. An instance of this is related by our countryman, Mr. Martin, who was thrown into the inquisition for neglecting to pay due respect to a religious procession at Malaga. One of the father-inquisitors took much pains to convert him; and among other abuses which he cast on the reformed religion and its professors, affirmed that king William was an atheist, and never received the sacrament. Mr. Martin assured him this was false to his own knowledge: when the reverend father replied, "Isaac, Isaac, never tell me so.—I have read it in a French book."

‡ An equivoque on the word upright. Perhaps our poet might here mean to satirize Colonel Hewson, who was a cobbler, great preacher, and a commander of some note: "renown'd in song," for there are many ballads and poems which celebrate the cobbler and his stall.

§ Repaired the heels, and mended the worn-out parts of the shoe.

‖ A parody upon these lines in Gondibert:

Recorded Rhodalind, whose name in verse
Who hath not hit, not luckily hath read.

Or thus:

Recorded Rhodalind, whose high renown
Who miss in books, not luckily have read.

He had a weapon keen and fierce,
That thro' a bull-hide shield would pierce,*
And cut it in a thousand pieces,
Tho' tougher than the Knight of Greece his,†
With whom his black-thumb'd ancestor‡
Was comrade in the ten years' war:
For when the restless Greeks sat down
So many years before Troy town,
And were renown'd, as Homer writes,
For well-sol'd boots no less than fights,§
They ow'd that glory only to
His ancestor, that made them so.
Fast friend he was to reformation,
Until 'twas worn quite out of fashion;
Next rectifier of wry law,
And would make three to cure one flaw.
Learned he was, and could take note,
Transcribe, collect, translate, and quote:
But preaching was his chiefest talent,
Or argument, in which being valiant,
He us'd to lay about, and stickle,
Like ram or bull at conventicle:
For disputants, like rams and bulls,
Do fight with arms that spring from sculls.
Last Colon came,‖ bold man of war
Destin'd to blows by fatal star;
Right expert in command of horse,
But cruel, and without remorse.
That which of Centaur long ago
Was said, and has been wrested to
Some other knights, was true of this:
He and his horse were of a piece:
One spirit did inform them both,
The self-same vigour, fury, wroth;

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* Meaning his sharp knife, with which he cut the leather

† The shield of Ajax.

Αἴας δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε, φέρων σάκος ἠΰτε πύργον,
Χάλκεον, ἑπταβόειον, ὅ οἱ Τυχίος κάμε τεύχων.
Iliad. vii. 219.

‡ According to the old verses:

The higher the plumb-tree, the riper the plumb;
The richer the cobbler, the blacker his thumb.

§ Εὐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ—κνημὶς, was an armor for the legs, from κνήμη, tibia, crus, which Butler ludicrously calls boots.

‖ Colon is said, by Sir Robert L'Estrange, to be one Ned Perry, an ostler; possibly he had risen to some command in a regiment of horse

Yet he was much the rougher part,
And always had the harder hêart,
Altho' his horse had been of those
That fed on man's flesh, as fame goes:*
Strange food for horse! and yet, alas!
It may be true, for flesh is grass.†
Sturdy he was, and no less able
Than Hercules to cleanse a stable;‡
As great a drover, and as great
A critic too, in hog or neat.
He ripp'd the womb up of his mother,
Dame Tellus,§ 'cause she wanted fother,
And provender, wherewith to feed
Himself, and his less cruel steed.
It was a question whether he,
Or's horse, were of a family
More worshipful; 'till antiquaries,
After th'ad almost por'd out their eyes,
Did very learnedly decide
The bus'ness on the horse's side,
And prov'd not only horse, but cows,
Nay pigs, were of the elder house:

* The horses of Diomedes were said to have been fed with human flesh.

Non tibi succurrit crudi Diomedis imago,
Efferus humanâ qui dape pavit equas.
Ovid. Epist. Deianira Herculi.

The moral, perhaps, might be, that Diomede was ruined by keeping his horses, as Acteon was said to be devoured by his dogs, because he was ruined by keeping them: a good hint to young men, qui gaudent equis, canibusque; the French say, of a man who has ruined himself by extravagance, il a mangé ses biens.

See the account of Duncan's horses in Shakspeare, (Macbeth, Ac. ii. sc. 4.)

† Our poet takes a particular pleasure in bantering Sir Thomas Browne, author of the Vulgar Errors, and Religio Medici. In the latter of these tracts he had said, "All flesh is grass, not "only metaphorically, but literally: for all those creatures we "behold, are but the herbs of the field digested into flesh in "them, or more remotely carnified in ourselves. Nay, farther, "we are, what we all abhor, anthropophagi and cannibals; de-"vourers not only of men but of ourselves, and that not in alle-"gory but positive truth; for all this mass of flesh which we "behold came in at our mouth; this frame we look upon hath "been upon our trenchers."

‡ Alluding to the fabulous story of Hercules, who cleansed the stables of Augeus, king of Elis, by turning the river Alpheus through them.

§ This means no more than his ploughing the ground. The mock epic delights in exaggerating the most trifling circumstances. This whole character is full of wit and happy allusions.

For beasts, when man was but a piece
Of earth himself, did th' earth possess.
These worthies were the chief that led
The combatants,* each in the head
Of his command, with arms and rage,
Ready and longing to engage.
The numerous rabble was drawn out
Of sev'ral countries round about,
From villages remote, and shires,
Of east and western hemispheres.
From foreign parishes and regions,
Of different manners, speech, religions,†
Came men and mastiffs; some to fight
For fame and honor, some for sight.
And now the field of death, the lists,
Were enter'd by antagonists,
And blood was ready to be broach'd,
When Hudibras in haste approach'd,
With Squire and weapons to attack 'em;
But first thus from his horse bespake 'em:
What rage, O citizens!‡ what fury
Doth you to these dire actions hurry?
What œstrum, what phrenetic mood§

* All Butler's heroes are round-heads: the cavaliers are seldom mentioned in his poem. The reason may be, that his satire on the two predominant sects would not have had the same force from the mouth of a royalist. It is now founded on the acknowledgments and mutual recriminations of the parties exposed.

† In a thanksgiving sermon preached before the parliament on the taking of Chester, the preacher said, there were in London no less than one hundred and fifty different sects.

‡ Butler certainly had those lines of Lucan in view, Pharsal 1-8:

> Quis furor, O cives, quæ tanta licentia ferri,
> Gentibus invisus Latium præbere cruorum?
> Cumque superba foret Babylon spolianda trophæis
> Ausonils, umbrâque erraret Crassus inultâ,
> Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos?
> Heu, quantum potuit terræ pelagique parari
> Hoc, quem civiles hauserunt, sanguine, dextræ.

And Virgil, Æn. ii. 42:

> ——O miseri, quæ tanta insania, cives?

Perhaps, too, he recollected the seventh epode of Horace:

> Quo, quo scelesti, ruitis? aut cur dexteris
> Aptantur enses conditi?

§ Οἶστρος is not only a Greek word for madness, but signifies also a gad-bee, or horse-fly, that torments cattle in the summer and makes them run about as if they were mad

Makes you thus lavish of your blood,
While the proud Vies your trophies boast,
And, unreveng'd, walks ——— ghost?*
What towns, what garrisons might you,
With hazard of this blood, subdue,
Which now y' are bent to throw away
In vain, untriumphable fray?†
Shall saints in civil bloodshed wallow
Of saints, and let the cause lie fallow?‡
The cause, for which we fought and swore
So boldly, shall we now give o'er?
Then, because quarrels still are seen
With oaths and swearings to begin,
The solemn league and covenant§
Will seem a mere God-damn-me rant,
And we that took it, and have fought,
As lewd as drunkards that fall out:
For as we make war for the king
Against himself,‖ the self-same thing
Some will not stick to swear we do
For God, and for religion too;

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* Vies, or Devizes, in Wiltshire. This passage alludes to the defeat given by Wilmot to the forces under Sir William Waller, near that place, July 13, 1643. After the battle Sir William was entirely neglected by his party. Clarendon calls it the battle of Roundway-down. See vol. ii. p. 224. Some in joke call it Runaway-down. Others suppose the hiatus, in the second line, ought to be supplied by the name Hampden, who was killed in Chalgrove-field in Oxfordshire, about the time of Waller's defeat in the neighborhood of the Devizes.—The heathen poets have feigned, that the ghosts of the slain could not enter Elysium till their deaths were revenged.

† The Romans never granted a triumph to the conqueror in a *civil* war.

‡ The support of the discipline, or ecclesiastical regimen by presbyters, was called the Cause, as if no other cause were comparable to it. See Hooker's Eccles. Pol., preface.

§ Mr. Robert Gordon, in his history of the illustrious family of Gordon, vol. ii. p. 197, compares the solemn league and covenant with the holy league in France: he says, they were as like as one egg to another; the one was nursed by the Jesuits, the other by the Scots Presbyterians.

‖ "To secure the king's person from danger," says Lord Clarendon, "was an expression they were not ashamed always to "use, when there was no danger that threatened, but what "themselves contrived and designed against him. They not "only declared that they fought for the king, but that the raising "and maintaining soldiers for their own army, would be an ac- "ceptable service for the king, parliament, and kingdom."

One Blake, in the king's army, gave intelligence to the enemy in what part of the army the king fought, that they might direct their bullets accordingly

For if bear-baiting we allow,
What good can reformation do?*
The blood and treasure that's laid out
Is thrown away, and goes for nought.
Are these the fruits o' th' protestation,†
The prototype of reformation,‡
Which all the saints, and some, since martyrs,§
Wore in their hats like wedding-garters,‖
When 'twas resolved by their house,
Six members' quarrels to espouse?¶
Did they for this draw down the rabble,
With zeal, and noises formidable;**
And make all cries about the town
Join throats to cry the bishops down?
Who having round begirt the palace,
As once a month they do the gallows,††
As members gave the sign about,
Set up their throats with hideous shout.

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* Hewson is said, by Mr. Hume, to have gone, in the fervor of his zeal against bear-baiting, and killed all the bears which he could find in the city. But we are told by the author of the Mystery of the good old Cause, a pamphlet published soon after these animals were destroyed, that they were killed by Colonel Pride. Granger's Biographical History, vol. iii. p. 75.

† The protestation was framed, and taken in the house of commons, May 3, 1641; and immediately printed and dispersed over the nation. The design of it was to alarm the people with fears and apprehensions both for their civil and religious liberties; as if the Protestant religion were in danger, and the privileges of parliament trampled upon. The king was deemed to have acted unconstitutionally the day before, by taking notice of the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford, then depending in the house of lords.

‡ The protestation was the first attempt towards a national combination against the establishment, and was harbinger to the covenant. See Nalson's Collections, vol. i. p. ult., and Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, vol. i. 22–6.

§ Those that were killed in the war.

‖ The protestors or petitioners, when they came tumultuously to the parliament-house, Dec. 27, 1641, stuck pieces of paper in their hats, which were to pass for their protestation.

¶ Charles I. ordered the following members—Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Hampden, Sir Arthur Haselrig, and Mr. Strode—to be prosecuted, for plotting with the Scots, and stirring up sedition. The commons voted against their arrest, and the king went to the house with his guards, in order to seize them; but they had received intelligence of the design, and made their escape. This was one of the first acts of open violence which preceded the civil wars. The king took this measure chiefly by the advice of Lord Digby.

** The cry of the rabble was, as mentioned in the following lines, for reformation in church and state—no bishops—no evil counsellors, &c. See the protestation in Rapin's History.

†† The executions at Tyburn were generally once a month.

When tinkers bawl'd aloud, to settle
Church-discipline, for patching kettle.*
No sow-gelder did blow his horn
To geld a cat, but cry'd Reform.
The oyster-women lock'd their fish up,
And trudg'd away to cry No Bishop:
The mouse-trap men laid save-alls by,
And 'gainst ev'l counsellors did cry.
Botchers left old cloaths in the lurch,
And fell to turn and patch the church.
Some cry'd the covenant, instead
Of pudding-pies and ginger-bread:
And some for brooms, old boots, and shoes,
Bawl'd out to purge the commons' house:
Instead of kitchen-stuff, some cry
A gospel-preaching ministry:
And some for old suits, coats, or cloak,
No surplices, nor service-book.
A strange harmonious inclination
Of all degrees to reformation:
And is this all? is this the end
To which these carr'ings-on did tend?
Hath public faith, like a young heir,
For this tak'n up all sorts of ware,
And run int' ev'ry tradesman's book,
'Till both turn bankrupts, and are broke;
Did saints for this bring in their plate,†
And crowd, as if they came too late?
For when they thought the Cause had need on't
Happy was he that could be rid on't.
Did they coin piss-pots, bowls, and flaggons,
Int' officers of horse and dragoons;
And into pikes and musqueteers
Stamp beakers, cups, and porringers?
A thimble, bodkin, and a spoon,
Did start up living men, as soon
As in the furnace they were thrown,
Just like the dragon's teeth‡ b'ing sown.

* *For*, that is, instead of; as also in v. 547 and 551.

† Zealous persons, on both sides, lent their plate, to raise money for recruiting the army. The king, or some one for the parliament, gave notes of hand to repay with interest. Several colleges at Oxford have notes to this day, for their plate delivered to the king; and I have seen many other notes of the same nature. Even the poor women brought a spoon, a thimble, or a bodkin.

‡ Ovid. Metamorph. lib. iii. 106.

Then was the cause all gold and plate,
The brethren's off'rings, consecrate,
Like th' Hebrew calf, and down before it
The saints fell prostrate, to adore it.*
So say the wicked—and will you
Make that sarcasmous scandal true,†
By running after dogs and bears,
Beasts more unclean than calves or steers?
Have pow'rful preachers ply'd their tongues,‡
And laid themselves out, and their lungs;
Us'd all means, both direct and sinister,
I' th' power of gospel-preaching minister?
Have they invented tones, to win
The women, and make them draw in
The men as Indians with a female
Tame elephant inveigle the male?§
Have they told prov'dence what it must do,
Whom to avoid, and whom to trust to?
Discover'd th' enemy's design,
And which way best to countermine;
Prescribed what ways he hath to work,
Or it will ne'er advance the kirk;
Told it the news o' th' last express,‖
And after good or bad success

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* Exod. xxxii.

† *Sarcasmus* is here converted into an adjective.

‡ Calamy, Case, and the other dissenting teachers, exhorted their flocks, in the most moving terms and tones, to contribute their money towards the support of the parliament army.

§ The method by which elephants are caught, is by placing a tame female elephant within an inclosure, who, like a decoy-duck, draws in the male.

‖ The prayers of the Presbyterians, in those days, were very historical. Mr. G. Swaithe, in his Prayers, p. 12, says, "I hear "the king hath set up his standard at York, against the parlia-"ment, and the city of London. Look thou upon them; take "their cause in thine own hand; appear thou in the cause of "thy saints; the cause in hand."

"Tell them, from the Holy Ghost," says Beech, "from the "word of truth, that their destruction shall be terrible, it shall "be timely, it shall be total.

"Give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious, and his mercy "endureth forever.—Who remembered us at Naseby, for his "mercy endureth forever.

"Who remembered us in Pembrokeshire, for his mercy, &c.

"Who remembered us at Leicester, for his mercy, &c.

"Who remembered us at Taunton, for his mercy, &c.

"Who remembered us at Bristol, for his mercy, &c." See sermon, licensed by Mr. Cranford, 1645.—Mr. Pennington, lord mayor, in his order to the London ministers, April, 1643, says, "You are to commend to God in your prayers, the lord general, "the whole army in the parliament service; as also in your

Made prayers, not so like petitions,
As overtures and propositions,
Such as the army did present
To their creator, the parliament;
In which they freely will confess,
They will not, cannot acquiesce,
Unless the work be carry'd on
In the same way they have begun,
By setting church and common-weal
All on a flame, bright as their zeal,
On which the saints were all a-gog,
And all this for a bear and dog.
The parliament drew up petitions*
To 'tself, and sent them, like commissions,
To well-affected persons down,
In every city and great town,
With pow'r to levy horse and men,
Only to bring them back again;
For this did many, many a mile,
Ride manfully in rank and file,
With papers in their hats, that show'd
As if they to the pillory rode.
Have all these courses, these efforts,
Been try'd by people of all sorts,
Velis et remis, omnibus nervis,†
And all t' advance the cause's service:
And shall all now be thrown away
In petulant intestine fray?
Shall we, that in the cov'nant swore,
Each man of us to run before

"sermons effectually to stir up the people to appear in person, "and to join with the army, and the committee for the militia in "the city."

* It was customary for the active members of parliament to draw up petitions and send them into the country to be signed. Lord Clarendon charges them with altering the matter of the petition after it was signed and affixing a fresh petition to the names. The Hertfordshire petition, at the beginning of the war, took notice of things done in parliament the night before its delivery: it was signed by many thousands. Another petition was presented, beginning, "We men, women, children, and "servants, having considered," &c. Fifteen thousand porters petitioned against the bishops, affirming they cannot endure the *weight* of episcopacy any longer.

† That is, with all their might. The reader will remember, that to our hero

> Latin was no more difficile
> Than to a black-bird 'tis to whistle. Canto i. l. 53

Another* still in reformation,
Give dogs and bears a dispensation?
How will dissenting brethren relish it?
What will malignants† say? videlicet,
That each man swore to do his best,
To dam and perjure all the rest;
And bid the devil take the hinmost,
Which at this race is like to win most.
They'll say, our bus'ness to reform
The church and state is but a worm;
For to subscribe, unsight, unseen,
T' an unknown church's discipline,
What is it else, but, before hand,
T' engage, and after understand?
For when we swore to carry on
The present reformation,
According to the purest mode
Of churches, best reform'd abroad,‡
What did we else but make a vow
To do, we knew not what, nor how?
For no three of us will agree
Where, or what churches these should be.
And is indeed the self-same case
With theirs that swore et cæteras;§

* This was a common phrase in those days, particularly with the zealous preachers, and is inserted in the solemn league and covenant.

† That is, the king's party; the parliament calling their opponents by that name.

‡ The Presbyterians pretended to desire such a reformation as had taken place in the neighboring churches; the king offered to invite any churches to a national synod, and could not even obtain an answer to the proposal.

Instead of taking pattern by the best reformed churches, they would have had other reformed churches take pattern by them. They sent letters, and their covenant, to seventeen foreign churches; but they never produced the answer they received from any of them—a plain indication that protestants abroad did not approve their practices.

§ By the convocation, which sat in the beginning of 1640, all the clergy were required to take an oath in this form: "Nor "will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this "church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, *et cætera*." See this oath at length in Biographia Britannica, and Baxter's Life, p. 15. Dr. Heylin, who was a member of the convocation, declared, that the words, "et cætera," were an oversight, and intended to have been expunged before it was sent to the press: and beside, that the oath was rendered so determinate, and the words so restrained by the other part, that there could be no danger, no mystery or iniquity in it. Life of Archbishop Laud; but such an oath could not be justified, as every oath ought to be plain and determinate. See Cleveland's Poem, p. 33.

Or the French league, in which men vow'd
To fight to the last drop of blood.*
These slanders will be thrown upon
The cause and work we carry on,
If we permit men to run headlong
T' exorbitances fit for Bedlam,
Rather than gospel-walking times,†
When slightest sins are greatest crimes.
But we the matter so shall handle,
As to remove that odious scandal.
In name of king and parliament,‡
I charge ye all, no more foment
This feud, but keep the peace between
Your brethren and your countrymen;
And to those places straight repair
Where your respective dwellings are:
But to that purpose first surrender
The fiddler, as the prime offender,§
Th' incendiary vile, that is chief
Author, and engineer of mischief;
That makes division between friends,
For prophane and malignant ends.

Who swears et cætera, swears more oaths at once
Than Cerberus, out of his triple sconce;
Who views it well, with the same eye beholds
The old false serpent in his numerous folds.
Accurst et cætera!
Then finally, my babes of grace, forbear,
Et cætera will be too far to swear;
For 'tis, to speak in a familiar stile,
A Yorkshire wea-bit longer than a mile.

Mr. Butler here shows his impartiality, by bantering the faults of his own party.

* The holy league in France, 1576, was the original of the Scotch solemn league and covenant: they are often compared together by Sir William Dugdale and others. See Satire Menippee, sometimes called the French Hudibras.

† This is one of the cant phrases much used in our author's time.

‡ The Presbyterians made a distinction between the king's person politic, and his person natural: when they fought against the latter, it was in defence of the former, always inseparable from the parliament. The commission granted to the earl of Essex was in the name of the king and parliament. But when the Independents got the upper hand, the name of the king was omitted, and the commission of Sir Thomas Fairfax ran only in the name of the parliament.

§ See the fable of the trumpeter, who was put to death for setting people together by the ears without fighting himself. It burlesques the clamors made by the parliament against evil counsellors; to which clamors were sacrificed Lord Strafford Archbishop Laud, and others

He and that engine of vile noise,
On which illegally he plays,
Shall, dictum factum, both be brought
To condign pun'shment as they ought.
This must be done, and I would fain see
Mortal so sturdy as to gain-say:
For then I'll take another course,
And soon reduce you all by force.
This said, he clapt his hand on's sword,
To shew he meant to keep his word.
But Talgol, who had long supprest
Inflamed wrath in glowing breast,*
Which now began to rage and burn as
Implacably as flame in furnace,
Thus answer'd him; Thou vermin wretched,†
As e'er in measled pork was hatched;‡
Thou tail of worship, that dost grow
On rump of justice as of cow;
How dar'st thou with that sullen luggage
O' thyself, old ir'n§ and other baggage,
With which thy steed of bone and leather
Has broke his wind in halting hither;
How durst th', I say, adventure thus
T' oppose thy lumber against us?
Could thine impertinence find out
No work t' employ itself about,
Where thou secure from wooden blow,
Thy busy vanity might show?
Was no dispute afoot between
The caterwauling brethren?
No subtle question rais'd among
Those out-o'-their wits, and those i' th' wrong?

---

* —— Æstuat ingens
Imo in corde pudor, mixtoque insania luctu,
Et furiis agitatus amor, et conscia virtus.
Æneid. x. 870.

The speech, though coarse, and becoming the mouth of a butcher, is an excellent satire upon the justices of the peace in those days, who were often shoemakers, tailors, or common livery servants. Instead of making peace with their neighbors, they hunted impertinently for trifling offences, and severely punished them.

† Homer's language is almost as coarse in the following line:

Οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο.
Il. i. 225.

‡ Unhealthy pigs are subject to an eruption, like the measles, which breeds maggots, or vermin.

§ Meaning his sword and pistols.

No prize between those combatants
O' th' times, the land and water saints ;*
Where thou might'st stickle without hazard
Of outrage, to thy hide and mazzard,†
And, not for want of bus'ness, come
To us to be thus troublesome,
To interrupt our better sort
Of disputants, and spoil our sport?
Was there no felony, no bawd,
Cut-purse,‡ nor burglary abroad?
No stolen pig, nor plunder'd goose,
To tie thee up from breaking loose?
No ale unlicens'd, broken hedge,
For which thou statute might'st alledge,
To keep thee busy from foul evil,
And shame due to thee from the devil?
Did no committee sit,§ where he
Might cut out journey-work for thee ;
And set th' a task with subornation,
To stitch up sale and sequestration ;

---

* That is, the Presbyterians and Anabaptists.

† Face, perhaps from the Latin, maxilla; and the French, machoire. [More probably from *mazer*, a cup, from the Dutch, maeser, a knot of maple:

A mazer ywrought of the maple ware.
Spenser, Shep. Cal. Aug. v. 26.

That the name of the cup should be transferred to the toper, seems not at all inconsistent with the etymology of burlesque words; the northern custom of drinking out of the skull of an enemy, and the southern fashion of adorning cups with grotesque heads, lend a probability to this derivation, which is somewhat helped by the words of Minshew, sub voce mazer;—"enim "pocula plerumque sunt acerna, facta ex tornatis hujus ligni ra- "dicibus, quæ propter *multicolores venas, maculasque variegatas* "aspectu jucunda sunt, et mensis gratissima." Mazer is used for a head, seriously, by Sylvester; and ludicrously in two old plays. Mazer became mazzard, as vizor became vizard.

Archdeacon Nares very justly observes, that the derivation from machoire, a jaw, is contradicted by Shakspeare ;—

Ham. This (*skull*) might be my lord such-a-one . . . . . Why, e'en so: and now my lady Worm's; *chapless*, and knock'd about the mazzard with a sexton's spade.]

‡ Men formerly hung their purses, by a silken or leathern strap, to their belts, on the outside of their garments, as ladies now wear watches. See the figures on old monuments. Hence the miscreant, whom we now denominate a pickpocket, was then properly a cutpurse.

§ In many counties, certain persons appointed by the parliament to promote their interest, had power to raise money for their use, and to punish their opponents by fine and imprisonment: these persons so associated were called a *committee*. Walker's Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy, part i.

To cheat, with holiness and zeal,
All parties, and the common-weal?
Much better had it been for thee,
H' had kept thee where th' art us'd to be;
Or sent th' on business any whither,*
So he had never brought thee hither.
But if th' hast brain enough in skull
To keep within his lodging whole,
And not provoke the rage of stones,
And cudgels, to thy hide and bones;
Tremble, and vanish while thou may'st,
Which I'll not promise if thou stay'st.
At this the Knight grew high in wroth,
And lifting hands and eyes up both,
Three times he smote on stomach stout,
From whence, at length, these words broke out
Was I for this entit'led Sir,
And girt with trusty sword and spur,
For fame and honour to wage battle,
Thus to be brav'd by foe to cattle?
Not all the pride that makes thee swell†
As big as thou dost blown-up veal;
Nor all thy tricks and slights to cheat,
And sell thy carrion for good meat;
Not all thy magic to repair
Decay'd old age, in tough lean ware,
Make natural death appear thy work,
And stop the gangrene in stale pork;
Not all that force that makes thee proud,
Because by bullock ne'er withstood:
Tho' arm'd with all thy cleavers, knives,
And axes made to hew down lives,

* Sir Samuel Luke was scout-master in the parliament-army hence the poet supposes Hudibras might be sent on errands by the devil.

† Οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίσμῃ κίθαρις, τά τε δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης,
Ἥ τε κόμη, τό, τε εἶδος, ὅτ' ἐν κονίῃσι μιγείης.
Homer. Iliad. iii. 54.

Nequicquam, Veneris præsidio ferox,
Pectes cæsariem: grataque feminis
Imbelli citharâ carmina divides:
Nequicquam thalamo graves
Hastas, et calami spicula Cnossii
Vitabis, strepitumque, et celerem sequi
Ajacem. Tamen, heu, serus adulteros
Crines pulvere collines.
Hor. Carm. lib. i. 15.

Shall save, or help thee to evade
The hand of justice, or this blade,
Which I, her sword-bearer, do carry,
For civil deed and military.
Nor shall these words of venom base,
Which thou hast from their native place,
Thy stomach, pump'd to fling on me,
Go unreveng'd, though I am free.*
Thou down the same throat shalt devour 'em
Like tainted beef, and pay dear for 'em.
Nor shall it e'er be said, that wight
With gantlet blue, and bases white,†
And round blunt truncheon by his side,‡
So great a man at arms defy'd,
With words far bitterer than wormwood,
That would in Job or Grizel stir mood.§
Dogs with their tongues their wounds do heal;
But men with hands, as thou shalt feel.
This said, with hasty rage he snatch'd
His gun-shot, that in holsters watch'd;

---

* Free, that is, untouched by your accusations, as being free from what you charge me with.

† Meaning his blue cuffs, and white apron. Gauntlet was iron armor which warriors wore on their hands, and lower part of their arms. [Bases, a mantle which hung from the middle to about the knees or lower, worn by knights on horseback.] His apron reached the ground, and is therefore called bases.

‡ That is, the steel on which a butcher whets his knife. In some editions it is *dudgeon*, that is, a short weapon.

§ The patience of the former is well known: that of the latter is celebrated in Chaucer and several old writers. Chaucer, vol. ii., the Clerk's Tale, ed. Tyrwhitt, 8vo. The story is taken from Petrarch, for Chaucer says,

As was Grisilde, therefore Petrark writeth
This storie, which with high stile he enditeth.

The tract is entitled, De obedientiâ et fide uxoriâ mythologia. Its principal circumstances are these:—Walter, marquis of Saluces, in Lower Lombardy, had a mind to make trial of his wife's patience and obedience. He first sent some ruffians to take away her son and daughter, apparently with intent to murder them: then clothed her in the mean apparel which she had formerly worn; for she was a person of low birth; sent her home to her father's cottage; pretended that his subjects were displeased at his unequal match, and that he had obtained a dispensation from the pope to marry another woman of equal rank with himself. All this, patient Grizel bore with great resignation and good humor; till at last the marquis disclosed the artifice, and proved thenceforth a kind and affectionate husband —Chaucer again observes,

That wedded men ne connen no measure
When that they find a patient creature.

And bending cock, he levell'd full
Against th' outside of Talgol's skull;
Vowing that he should ne'er stir further,
Nor henceforth cow or bullock murther.
But Pallas came in shape of rust,*
And 'twixt the spring and hammer thrust
Her gorgon-shield, which made the cock†
Stand stiff as if 'twere turn'd t' a stock.
Mean while fierce Talgol gath'ring might,
With rugged truncheon charg'd the Knight;
And he his rusty pistol held,
To take the blow on, like a shield;
The gun recoil'd, as well it might,
Not us'd to such a kind of fight.
And shrunk from its great master's gripe,
Knock'd down, and stunn'd, with mortal stripe:
Then Hudibras, with furious haste,
Drew out his sword; yet not so fast,
But Talgol first, with hardy thwack,
Twice bruis'd his head, and twice his back;
But when his nut-brown sword was out,
Courageously he laid about,
Imprinting many a wound upon
His mortal foe, the truncheon.
The trusty cudgel did oppose
Itself against dead-doing blows,
To guard its leader from fell bane,
And then reveng'd itself again:
And though the sword, some understood,
In force, had much the odds of wood;
'Twas nothing so, both sides were balanc't
So equal, none knew which was valiant'st.
For wood with honour b'ing engag'd,
Is so implacably enrag'd,
Though iron hew and mangle sore,
Wood wounds and bruises honour more.

---

* A banter upon Homer, Virgil, and other epic poets, who have always a deity at hand to protect their heroes.

† In some editions the next lines are printed thus,

—— which made the cock
Stand stiff, as t'were transform'd to stock
Meanwhile fierce Talgol, gath'ring might,
With rugged truncheon charg'd the knight,
But he, with petronel upheav'd,
Instead of shield, the blow receiv'd.

Petronel is a horseman's gun, but here it must signify a pistol, as it does not appear that Hudibras carried a carbine

And now both knights were out of breath,
Tir'd in the hot pursuit of death;
Whilst all the rest, amaz'd stood still,
Expecting which should take,* or kill.
This Hudibras observ'd, and fretting
Conquest should be so long a getting,
He drew up all his force into
One body, and that into one blow.
But Talgol wisely avoided it
By cunning slight; for had it hit
The upper part of him, the blow
Had slit, as sure as that below.
Meanwhile th' incomparable Colon,
To aid his friend, began to fall on;
Him Ralph encounter'd, and straight grew,
A dismal combat 'twixt them two:†
Th' one arm'd with metal, th' other with wood;‡
This fit for bruise, and that for blood.
With many a stiff thwack, many a bang,
Hard crab-tree, and old iron rang;§
While none that saw them could divine
To which side conquest would incline,
Until Magnano, who did envy
That two should with so many men vie,
By subtle stratagem of brain
Perform'd what force could ne'er attain,
For he, by foul hap, having found
Where thistles grew on barren ground,
In haste he drew his weapon out,
And having cropp'd them from the root,
He clapp'd them under th' horse's tail,‖
With prickles sharper than a nail.
The angry beast did straight resent
The wrong done to his fundament,
Began to kick, and fling, and wince,
As if h' had been beside his sense,
Striving to disengage from smart
And raging pain, th' afflicted part;
Instead of which he threw the pack
Of Squire and baggage from his back;

---

* *Take*, that is, take prisoner, as in verse 905, But took none.

† In some editions,

A fierce dispute between them two.

‡ In some editions we read,—th' other wood.

§ Here the sound is an echo to the sense.

‖ The same trick was played upon Don Quixote's Rosinante and Sancho's dapple. P. ii. lib. viii. c. 61, ed. Granville.

And blund'ring still with smarting rump,
He gave the champion's steed a thump
That stagger'd him. The Knight did stoop,
And sat on further side aslope.
This Talgol viewing, who had now,
By flight, escap'd the fatal blow,
He rally'd, and again fell to't;
For catching foe by nearer foot,
He lifted with such might and strength,
As would have hurl'd him thrice his length,
And dash'd his brains, if any, out:
But Mars, who still protects the stout,
In pudding-time came to his aid,
And under him the bear convey'd;
The bear, upon whose soft fur-gown
The Knight, with all his weight, fell down.
The friendly rug preserv'd the ground,
And headlong Knight, from bruise or wound:
Like feather-bed betwixt a wall,
And heavy brunt of cannon-ball.
As Sancho on a blanket fell,*
And had no hurt; ours far'd as well
In body, though his mighty spirit,
B'ing heavy, did not so well bear it.
The bear was in a greater fright,
Beat down, and worsted by the Knight:
He roar'd, and rag'd, and flung about,
To shake off bondage from his snout.
His wrath inflam'd boil'd o'er, and from
His jaws of death, he threw the foam;
Fury in stranger postures threw him,
And more than ever herald drew him.
He tore the earth, which he had sav'd
From squelch of Knight, and storm'd, and rav'd;
And vex'd the more, because the harms
He felt were 'gainst the law of arms;
For men he always took to be
His friends, and dogs the enemy,
Who never so much hurt had done him,
As his own side did falling on him.
It griev'd him to the guts, that they,
For whom h' had fought so many a fray,
And serv'd with loss of blood so long,
Should offer such inhuman wrong;
Wrong of unsoldier-like condition;

* Sancho's adventure at the inn, being tossed in a blanket.

For which he flung down his commission,*
And laid about him, till his nose
From thrall of ring and cord broke loose.
Soon as he felt himself enlarg'd,
Through thickest of his foes he charg'd,
And made way through th' amazed crew,
Some he o'er-ran, and some o'erthrew,
But took none; for, by hasty flight,
He strove t'avoid the conquering Knight,
From whom he fled with as much haste
And dread, as he the rabble chac'd.
In haste he fled, and so did they,
Each and his fear a several way.†
Crowdero only kept the field,
Not stirring from the place he held,
Though beaten down, and wounded sore,
I' th' fiddle, and a leg that bore
One side of him, not that of bone,
But much its better, th' wooden one.
He spying Hudibras lie strow'd
Upon the ground, like log of wood,
With fright of fall, supposed wound,
And loss of urine, in a swound;
In haste he snatch'd the wooden limb,
That hurt in th' ankle lay by him,
And fitting it for sudden fight,
Straight drew it up, t'attack the Knight,
For getting up on stump and huckle,
He with the foe began to buckle,
Vowing to be reveng'd for breach
Of crowd and shin upon the wretch,
Sole author of all detriment
He and his fiddle underwent.
But Ralpho, who had now begun
T' adventure resurrection‡
From heavy squelch, and had got up

* Bishop Warburton remarks on this line, that, during the civil wars, it was the usual way for those of either party, at a distressful juncture, to come to the king or parliament with some unreasonable demands, and if they were not complied with, to throw up their commissions, and go over to the opposite side: pretending that they could not in honor serve any longer under such unsoldier-like indignities. Those unhappy times afforded many instances of the kind, in Hurry, Middleton, Cooper, &c., &c.

† His fear, that is, that which he feared.

‡ A ridicule on the sectaries, who were fond of using Scripture phrases.

Upon his legs with sprained crup,
Looking about beheld the bard
To charge the Knight entranc'd prepar'd,
He snatch'd his whiniard up, that fled
When he was falling off his steed,
As rats do from a falling house,
To hide itself from rage of blows;
And wing'd with speed and fury flew
To rescue Knight from black and blue.
Which ere he could atchieve, his sconce
The leg encounter'd twice and once;*
And now 'twas raised, to smite agen,
When Ralpho thrust himself between
He took the blow upon his arm,
To shield the Knight from further harm;
And joining wrath with force, bestow'd
O' th' wooden member such a load,
That down it fell, and with it bore
Crowdero, whom it propp'd before.
To him the Squire right nimbly run,
And setting his bold foot upon
His trunk, thus spoke: What desp'rate frenzy
Made thee, thou whelp of sin, to fancy
Thyself, and all that coward rabble,
T' encounter us in battle able?
How durst th', I say, oppose thy curship
'Gainst arms, authority, and worship,
And Hudibras, or me provoke,
Though all thy limbs were heart of oak,†
And th' other half of thee as good
To bear out blows as that of wood?
Could not the whipping-post prevail
With all its rhet'ric, nor the jail,
To keep from flaying scourge thy skin,
And ankle free from iron gin?
Which now thou shalt—but first our care
Must see how Hudibras doth fare.‡
This said, he gently rais'd the Knight,

---

* Thus Justice Silence, in Henry IV. Act v. "Who I? I have "been merry twice and once ere now." And the witch in Mac beth, Act v. "Twice and once the hedge pig whin'd."

† Thus Hector braves Achilles.

Τοῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀντίος εἶμι, καὶ εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικεν,
Εἰ πυρὶ χείρας ἔοικε, μένος δ' ἀϊδήρῳ.
Hom. Iliad. lib. xx. 371.

‡ Imitating Virgil's Quos ego—sed motos, &c.

And set him on his bum upright:
To rouze him from lethargic dump,*
He tweak'd his nose, with gentle thump
Knock'd on his breast, as if't had been
To raise the spirits lodg'd within.
They waken'd with the noise, did fly
From inward room, to window eye,
And gently op'ning lid, the casement,
Look'd out, but yet with some amazement.
This gladded Ralpho much to see,
Who thus bespoke the Knight: quoth he,
Tweaking his nose, you are, great Sir,
A self-denying conqueror;†
As high, victorious, and great,
As e'er fought for the Churches yet,
If you will give yourself but leave
To make out what y' already have;
That's victory. The foe, for dread
Of your nine-worthiness,‡ is fled,
All, save Crowdero, for whose sake
You did th' espous'd cause undertake;
And he lies pris'ner at your feet,
To be dispos'd as you think meet,
Either for life, or death, or sale,
The gallows, or perpetual jail;
For one wink of your pow'rful eye
Must sentence him to live or die.
His fiddle is your proper purchase,
Won in the service of the Churches,
And by your doom must be allow'd
To be, or be no more, a Crowd:
For tho' success did not confer
Just title on the conqueror;§
Tho' dispensations were not strong
Conclusions, whether right or wrong;

* Compare this with the situation of Hector, who was stunned by a severe blow received from Ajax, and comforted by Apollo —Iliad. xv. v. 240.

† Ridiculing the self-denying ordinance, by which the members of both houses were obliged to quit their employments, both civil and military; notwithstanding which Sir Samuel Luke was continued governor of Newport Pagnel for some time.

‡ Thrice worthy is a common appellation in romances; but, in the opinion of the squire, would have been a title not equivalent to the knight's desert. See the History of the Nine Worthies of the World; and Fresnoy on Romances.

§ Success was pleaded by the Presbyterians as an evident proof of the justice of their cause.

Altho' out-goings did confirm.*
And owning were but a mere term;
Yet as the wicked have no right
To th' creature,† tho' usurp'd by might,
The property is in the saint,
From whom th' injuriously detain't;
Of him they hold their luxuries,
Their dogs, their horses, whores, and dice,
Their riots, revels, masks, delights,
Pimps, buffoons, fiddlers, parasites;
All which the saints have title to,
And ought t' enjoy, if th' had their due.
What we take from them is no more
Than what was ours by right before;
For we are their true landlords still,
And they our tenants but at will.
  At this the Knight began to rouse,
And by degrees grow valorous:
He star'd about, and seeing none
Of all his foes remain but one,
He snatch'd his weapon that lay near him,
And from the ground began to rear him,
Vowing to make Crowdero pay
For all the rest that ran away.
But Ralpho now in colder blood,
His fury mildly thus withstood:
Great Sir, quoth he, your mighty spirit
Is rais'd too high; this slave does merit
To be the hangman's bus'ness, sooner
Than from your hand to have the honour
Of his destruction; I that am
So much below in deed and name,
Did scorn to hurt his forfeit carcase,
Or ill entreat his fiddle or case:
Will you, great Sir, that glory blot
In cold blood, which you gain'd in hot?
Will you employ your conquering sword
To break a fiddle, and your word?
For tho' I fought and overcame,
And quarter gave, 'twas in your name:
For great commanders always own
What's prosp'rous by the soldier done.

* In some editions we read,—did *not* confirm.

† It was a principle maintained by the Independents of those days, that dominion was founded in grace; and, therefore, if a man were not a saint, or a godly man, he could have no right to any lands or chattels.

To save, where you have pow'r to kill,
Argues your pow'r above your will;
And that your will and pow'r have less
Than both might have of selfishness,
This pow'r which now alive, with dread
He trembles at, if he were dead,
Would no more keep the slave in awe,
Than if you were a knight of straw;
For death would then be his conqueror,
Not you, and free him from that terror.
If danger from his life accrue,
Or honour from his death to you,
'Twere policy, and honour too,
To do as you resolv'd to do:
But, Sir, 'twou'd wrong your valour much,
To say it needs, or fears a crutch.
Great conqu'rors greater glory gain
By foes in triumph led, than slain:
The laurels that adorn their brows
Are pull'd from living, not dead boughs,
And living foes; the greatest fame
Of cripple slain can be but lame:
One half of him's already slain,*
The other is not worth your pain;
Th' honour can but on one side light,
As worship did, when y'were dubb'd Knight.†
Wherefore I think it better far
To keep him prisoner of war;
And let him fast in bonds abide,
At court of justice to be try'd:
Where, if h' appear so bold or crafty,
There may be danger in his safety;‡

* This reminds me of the supplication of a lame musician in the Anthology, p. 5, ed. H. Steph.

Ηησιύ μι τέθνηκε, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ λιμὸς ἐλέγχει,
Σῶσόν μι βασιλευ, μυσικὸν ἡμίτονον.

† The honor of knighthood is conferred by the king's laying his sword upon the person's shoulder, and saying, "Arise, Sir ——."

‡ Cromwell's speech in the case of Lord Capel may serve to explain this line: he began with high encomiums of his merit, capacity, and honor; but when every one expected that he would have voted to save his life, he told them that the question before them was, whether they would preserve the greatest and most dangerous enemy that the cause had? that he knew my Lord Capel well, and knew him so firmly attached to the royal interest, that he would never desert it, or acquiesce under any establishment contrary to it.—Clarendon.

If any member there dislike
His face, or to his beard have pike ;*
Or if his death will save, or yield
Revenge or fright, it is reveal'd:
Tho' he has quarter, ne'ertheless
Y' have pow'r to hang him when you please ;
This has been often done by some
Of our great conqu'rors, you know whom ;
And has by most of us been held
Wise justice, and to some reveal'd:
For words and promises, that yoke
The conqueror, are quickly broke ;
Like Sampson's cuffs, tho' by his own
Direction and advice put on.
For if we should fight for the cause
By rules of military laws,
And only do what they call just,
The cause would quickly fall to dust.
This we among ourselves may speak ;
But to the wicked or the weak
We must be cautious to declare
Perfection-truths, such as these are.†

* Doubtless, particular instances are here alluded to. It is notorious that the lords and others were condemned or pardoned, as their personal interests prevailed more or less in the house. A whimsical instance of mercy was the pardon indulged to Sir John Owen, a Welsh gentleman, who being tried, together with the lords Capel, Holland, Loughborough, and others; Ireton, rather to insult the nobility than from any principle of compassion, observed that much endeavor had been used to preserve each of the lords, but here was a poor commoner, whom no one had spoke for; he therefore moved that he might be pardoned by the mere grace of the house. Sir John was a man of humorous intrepidity; when he, with the lords, was condemned to be beheaded, he made his judges a low bow, and gave his humble thanks; at which a by-stander, surprised, asked him what he meant? To which the knight, with a broad oath, replied, that, "It was a great honor to a poor gentleman of Wales to lose "his head with such noble lords, for, in truth, he was afraid they "would have hanged him." See Clarendon, Rushworth, Whitelocke, and Pennant's Tour to Wales, in 1773, page 264. The parliament was charged with setting aside the articles of capitulation agreed to by its generals, and killing prisoners after quarter had been granted them, on pretence of a revelation that such a one ought to die. See also the case of the surrender of Pendennis castle.

† Truths revealed only to the perfect, or the initiated into the higher mysteries.

Φθέγξομαι, οἷς φέμις ἐστιν, ἐκὰς, ἐκὰς ἔστε βέβηλοι.

[A line made up from the Fragments of Orpheus and the Hymn to Apollo of Callimachus.]

This said, the high outrageous mettle
Of Knight began to cool and settle.
He lik'd the Squire's advice and soon
Resolv'd to see the bus'ness done;
And therefore charg'd him first to bind
Crowdero's hands on rump behind,
And to its former place, and use,
The wooden member to reduce;
But force it take an oath before,
Ne'er to bear arms against him more.*
Ralpho dispatch'd with speedy haste,
And having ty'd Crowdero fast,
He gave Sir Knight the end of cord,
To lead the captive of his sword
In triumph, while the steeds he caught,
And them to further service brought.
The Squire, in state, rode on before,
And on his nut-brown whiniard bore
The trophy-fiddle and the case,
Plac'd on his shoulder like a mace.
The Knight himself did after ride,
Leading Crowdero by his side;
And tow'd him, if he lagg'd behind,
Like boat against the tide and wind.
Thus grave and solemn they march on,
Until quite thro' the town they'd gone;
At further end of which there stands
An ancient castle, that commands†
Th' adjacent parts: in all the fabrick
You shall not see one stone nor a brick,
But all of wood, by pow'rful spell
Of magic made impregnable:
There's neither iron bar nor gate,
Portcullis, chain, nor bolt, nor grate,
And yet men durance there abide,
In dungeon scarce three inches wide;

Cromwell held, that the rules of justice were binding in ordinary cases, but in extraordinary ones might be dispensed with. See Burnet. Clarendon hath a similar observation; or Sir H. Vane—that he was above ordinances.

* The poet making the wooden leg take an oath not to serve again against his captor, is a ridicule on those who obliged their prisoners to take an oath to that purpose. The prisoners taken at Brentford were thus sworn, but Dr. Downing and Mr. Marshall absolved them from this oath, and they immediately served again in the parliament army.

† The stocks are here pictured as an enchanted castle, with infinite wit and humor, and in the true spirit of burlesque poetry

With roof so low, that under it
They never stand, but lie or sit;
And yet so foul, that whoso is in,
Is to the middle-leg in prison;
In circle magical confin'd,
With walls of subtle air and wind,
Which none are able to break thorough,
Until they're freed by head of borough.
Thither arriv'd, the advent'rous Knight
And bold Squire from their steeds alight
At th' outward wall, near which there stands
A Bastile, built t'imprison hands;*
By strange enchantment made to fetter
The lesser parts, and free the greater:
For tho' the body may creep through,
The hands in great are fast enow:
And when a circle 'bout the wrist
Is made by beadle exorcist,
The body feels the spur and switch,
As if 't were ridden post by witch,
At twenty miles an hour pace,
And yet ne'er stirs out of the place.
On top of this there is a spire,
On which Sir Knight first bids the Squire
The fiddle, and its spoils, the case,†
In manner of a trophy, place.
That done they ope the trap-door gate,
And let Crowdero down thereat.
Crowdero making doleful face,
Like hermit poor in pensive place,‡
To dungeon they the wretch commit,
And the survivor of his feet;
But th' other, that had broke the peace,
And head of knighthood, they release,
Tho' a delinquent false and forged,
Yet b'ing a stranger he's enlarged;§

* A description of the whipping-post.

† Suppose we read,

His spoils, the fiddle and the case.

‡ This was the beginning of a love-song, in great vogue about the year 1650.

§ Dr. Grey supposes, very justly, that this may allude to the case of Sir Bernard Gascoign, who was condemned at Colchester with Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, but respited from execution on account of his being an Italian, and a person of some interest in his own country. See Lord Clarendon's History, vol. iii., p. 137.

While his comrade, that did no hurt,
Is clapp'd up fast in prison for't:
So justice, while she winks at crimes,
Stumbles on innocence sometimes.*

* Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.
Juv. ii., l. 63

The plays and poems of this date commonly ended with a moral reflection

PART I. CANTO III.

THE ARGUMENT.*

THE scatter'd rout return and rally,
Surround the place; the Knight does sally,
And is made pris'ner: then they seize
Th' enchanted fort by storm, release
Crowdero, and put the Squire in's place;
I should have first said Hudibras.

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* The Author follows the example of Spenser, and the Italian poets, in the division of his work into parts and cantos. Spenser contents himself with a short title to each division, as "The Legend of Temperance," and the like. Butler more fully acquaints his readers what they are to expect, by an argument in the same style with the poem; and frequently convinces them, that he knew how to enliven so dry a thing as a summary. Neither Virgil, Ovid, nor Statius wrote arguments in verse to their respective poems; but critics and grammarians have taken the pains to do it for them.

HUDIBRAS.

CANTO III.

Ay me! what perils do environ
The man that meddles with cold iron!*
What plaguy mischiefs and mishaps
Do dog him still with after claps!
For tho' dame Fortune seem to smile,†
And leer upon him for a while,
She'll after shew him, in the nick
Of all his glories, a dog-trick.
This any man may sing or say
I' th' ditty call'd, What if a day?‡
For Hudibras, who thought he 'ad won
The field as certain as a gun,

---

* A parody on the verses in Spenser's Fairy Queen:

Ay me, how many perils do enfold
The virtuous man to make him daily fall.

These two lines are become a kind of proverbial expression, partly owing to the moral reflection, and partly to the jingle of the double rhyme: they are applied sometimes to a man mortally wounded with a sword, and sometimes to a lady who pricks her finger with a needle. Butler, in his MS. Common-place Book, on this passage, observes: "Cold iron in Greenland burns as grievously as hot." Some editions read, "Ah me," from the Belgic or Teutonic.

† Οἷς μὲν δίδωσιν, οἷς δ' ἀφαιρεῖται τύχη.
Τὸ τῆς τύχης τοι μεταβολὰς πολλὰς ἔχει
Ὡς ποικίλον πρᾶγμ' ἐστὶ καὶ πλάνον τύχη.
Brunck. Gnom. Poet. p. 242.

Fortuna sævo læta negotio, et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
Transmutat incertos honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
Hor. Carm. lib. iii. 29, l. 49

‡ An old ballad, which begins:

What if a day, or a month, or a year
Crown thy delights,
With a thousand wish't contentings!
Cannot the chance of a night or an hour,
Cross thy delights,
With as many sad tormentings?

And having routed the whole troop,
With victory was cock-a-hoop ;*
Thinking he 'ad done enough to purchase
Thanksgiving-day among the churches,
Wherein his mettle and brave worth
Might be explain'd by holder-forth,
And register'd by fame eternal,
In deathless pages of diurnal ;†
Found in few minutes, to his cost,
He did but count without his host ;
And that a turn-stile is more certain
Than, in events of war, Dame Fortune.
For now the late faint-hearted rout,
O'erthrown and scatter'd round about,
Chas'd by the horror of their fear,
From bloody fray of Knight and Bear,
All but the dogs, who, in pursuit
Of the Knight's victory, stood to't,
And most ignobly sought to get
The honour of his blood and sweat,‡
Seeing the coast was free and clear
O' the conquer'd and the conqueror,
Took heart again, and fac'd about,
As if they meant to stand it out :
For now the half defeated bear,
Attack'd by th' enemy i' th' rear,
Finding their number grew too great
For him to make a safe retreat,
Like a bold chieftain fac'd about ;
But wisely doubting to hold out,
Gave way to fortune and with haste
Fac'd the proud foe, and fled, and fac'd,
Retiring still, until he found
H' ad got the advantage of the ground ;
And then as valiantly made head
To check the foe, and forthwith fled,

* This crowing or rejoicing. Cock-on-hoop signifies extravagance : the cock drawn out of a barrel, and laid upon the hoop, while the liquor runs to waste, is a proper emblem of inconsiderate conduct.

† The gazettes or newspapers, on the side of the parliament, were published daily, and called Diurnals. See Cleveland's character of a diurnal-maker.

‡ An allusion to the complaint of the Presbyterian commanders against the Independents, when the self-denying ordinance had brought in these and excluded the others. Both Butler and Milton complain of not receiving satisfaction and reward for their labor and expenses. This looks as if our poet had an allegorical view in some of his characters and passages.

Leaving no art untry'd, nor trick
Of warrior stout and politic,
Until, in spite of hot pursuit,
He gain'd a pass, to hold dispute
On better terms, and stop the course
Of the proud foe. With all his force
He bravely charg'd, and for a while
Forc'd their whole body to recoil;
But still their numbers so increas'd,
He found himself at length oppress'd,
And all evasions so uncertain
To save himself for better fortune,
That he resolv'd, rather than yield,
To die with honour in the field,
And sell his hide and carcase at
A price as high and desperate
As e'er he could. This resolution
He forthwith put in execution,
And bravely threw himself among
Th' enemy i' th' greatest throng;
But what could single valour do
Against so numerous a foe?
Yet much he did, indeed too much
To be believ'd, where th' odds were such;
But one against a multitude,
Is more than mortal can make good:
For while one party he oppos'd
His rear was suddenly enclos'd,
And no room left him for retreat,
Or fight against a foe so great.
For now the mastives, charging home,
To blows and handy-gripes were come;
While manfully himself he bore,
And, setting his right foot before,
He rais'd himself to show how tall
His person was above them all.
This equal shame and envy stirr'd
In th' enemy, that one should beard
So many warriors, and so stout,
As he had done, and stav'd it out,
Disdaining to lay down his arms,
And yield on honourable terms.
Enraged thus some in the rear
Attack'd him, and some every where,*

* Thus Spenser in his Fairy Queen:

Like dastard curs, that having at a bay
The savage beast, emboss'd in weary chase

Till down he fell; yet falling fought,
And, being down still laid about;
As Widdrington, in doleful dumps,
Is said to fight upon his stumps.*
But all, alas! had been in vain,
And he inevitably slain,
If Trulla and Cerdon, in the nick,
To rescue him had not been quick:
For Trulla, who was light of foot,
As shafts which long-field Parthians shoot,†
But not so light as to be borne
Upon the ears of standing corn,‡

Dare not adventure on the stubborn prey,
Ne bite before, but rome from place to place
To get a snatch, when turned is his face.

* In the famous song of Chevy-chase:

For Witherington needs must I wail,
As one in doleful dumps,
For when his legs were smitten of
He fought upon his stumps.

The battle of Chevy-chase, or Otterbourne, on the borders of Scotland, was fought on St. Oswald's day, August 5, 1388, between the families of Percy and Douglas—the song was probably wrote much after that time, though long before 1588, as Hearne supposes.—The sense of the stanza is, I, as one in doleful dumps (deep concern) must lament Witherington.
In the old copy of the ballad, the lines run thus:

For Wetharrington my harte was wo
That ever he slayne shulde be
For when both his leggis weare hewyne in to
He knyled and fought upon his kne.

† Bishop Warburton offers an amendment here, which improves the sense, viz. longfiled, or drawn up in long ranks. But as all the editions read long-field, I was unwilling to alter it. Perhaps the poet may be justified in the use of this epithet, from the account which Trogus gives of the Parthians. He says, "they were banished, and vagabond Scythians; their name, in "the Scythian language, signifying banished. They settled in "the deserts near Hyrcania; and spread themselves over vast "open fields and wide champaigns—'immensa ac profunda cam-"'porum.' They are continually on horseback: They fight, "consult, and transact all their business on horseback." Justin. lib. xli.
[Bishop Warburton and Mr. Nash are wide *a-field* of their mark here. *Long-field* is a term of archery, and a *long-fielder* is still a hero at a cricket match.]
‡ Alluding to Camilla, whose speed is hyperbolically described by Virgil, at the end of the seventh Æneid:

Illa vel intactæ segetis per summa volaret
Gramina, nec teneras cursu læsisset aristas:
Vel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tumenti,
Ferret iter, celeres nec tingeret æquore plantas.

Or trip it o'er the water quicker
Than witches, when their staves they liquor,*
As some report, was got among
The foremost of the martial throng;
Where pitying the vanquish'd bear,
She called to Cerdon, who stood near,
Viewing the bloody fight; to whom,
Shall we, quoth she, stand still hum-drum,
And see stout bruin, all alone,
By numbers basely overthrown?
Such feats already he'as atchiev'd,
In story not to be believ'd,
And 'twould to us be shame enough,
Not to attempt to fetch him off.
I would, quoth he, venture a limb
To second thee, and rescue him:
But then we must about it straight,
Or else our aid will come too late:
Quarter he scorns, he is so stout,
And therefore cannot long hold out.
This said, they wav'd their weapons round
About their heads, to clear the ground;
And joining forces, laid about
So fiercely, that th' amazed rout
Turn'd tail again, and straight begun,
As if the devil drove, to run.
Meanwhile th' approach'd th' place where bruin
Was now engag'd to mortal ruin:
The conqu'ring foe they soon assail'd;
First Trulla stav'd and Cerdon tail'd,†
Until their mastives loos'd their hold:
And yet, alas! do what they could,
The worsted bear came off with store
Of bloody wounds, but all before:
For as Achilles, dipt in pond,
Was anabaptiz'd free from wound,
Made proof against dead-doing steel
All over, but the pagan heel;‡
So did our champion's arms defend
All of him but the other end,

* Witches are said to ride upon broomsticks, and to liquor, or grease them, that they may go faster.

† Trulla put her staff between the dogs and the bear, in order to part them; and Cerdon drew the dogs away by their tails.

‡ This is the true spirit of burlesque; as the anabaptists, by their dipping, were made free from sin, so was Achilles by the same operation performed by his mother Thetis, rendered free from wounds.

His head and ears, which in the martial
Encounter lost a leathern parcel;
For as an Austrian archduke once
Had one ear, which in ducatoons
Is half the coin, in battle par'd
Close to his head,* so bruin far'd;
But tugg'd and pull'd on th' other side,
Like scriv'ner newly crucify'd;†
Or like the late-corrected leathern
Ears of the circumcised brethren.‡
But gentle Trulla into th' ring
He wore in's nose convey'd a string,
With which she march'd before, and led
The warrior to a grassy bed,
As authors write, in a cool shade,

* Albert, archduke of Austria, brother to the emperor Rodolph the Second, had one of his ears grazed by a spear, when he had taken off his helmet, and was endeavoring to rally his soldiers in an engagement with Prince Maurice of Nassau, ann. 1598. We read, in an ancient song, of a different duke of that family:

Richard Cœur de Lion erst king of this land,
He the lion gored with his naked hand;
The false duke of Austria nothing did he fear.
But his son he kill'd with a box on the ear
Besides his famous acts done in the holy land.

A ducatoon is the half of a ducat. Before the invention of milling, coins were frequently cut into parts: thus, there were quarter-ducats, and two-thirds of a ducat.

† In those days lawyers or scriveners, if guilty of dishonest practices, were sentenced to lose their ears. In modern times they seldom are so punished.

‡ Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, stood in the pillory, and had their ears cut off, by order of the Star-Chamber, in 1637, for writing seditious libels. They were banished into remote parts of the kingdom; but recalled by the parliament in 1640. At their return the populace showed them every respect. They were met, near London, by ten thousand persons, who carried boughs and flowers. The members of the Star-chamber, concerned in punishing them, were fined in the sum of 4000*l.* for each.

Prynne was a noted lawyer. He had been once pilloried before; and now lost the remainder of his ears: though, in Lord Strafford's Letters, it is said they were sewed on again, and grew as well as ever. His publication was a pamphlet entitled, News from Ipswich. See Epistle of Hudibras to Sidrophel, l. 13.

Bastwick was a physician. He wrote a pamphlet, in elegant Latin, called Flagellum Episcoporum. He was the author, too, of a silly litany, full of abuse.

Burton, minister of St. Matthew's, in Friday-street, London, preached a sermon, Nov. 5, entitled, God and the king. This he printed; and, being questioned about it, he defended it, enlarged, and dedicated it to the king himself. After his discharge, he preached and printed another sermon, entitled, The Protestation protested.

Which eglantine and roses made:
Close by a softly murm'ring stream,
Where lovers used to loll and dream:*
There leaving him to his repose,
Secured from pursuit of foes,
And wanting nothing but a song,†
And a well-tun'd theorbo hung
Upon a bough, to ease the pain
His tugg'd ears suffer'd, with a strain.‡
They both drew up, to march in quest
Of his great leader, and the rest.
For Orsin, who was more renown'd
For stout maintaining of his ground
In standing fights, than for pursuit,
As being not so quick of foot,§
Was not long able to keep pace
With others that pursu'd the chase,
But found himself left far behind,
Both out of heart and out of wind;
Griev'd to behold his bear pursu'd
So basely by a multitude,
And like to fall, not by the prowess,
But numbers, of his coward foes.
He rag'd, and kept as heavy a coil as
Stout Hercules for loss of Hylas;
Forcing the vallies to repeat
The accents of his sad regret:‖

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* ——— Et fotum gremio Dea tollit in altos
Idaliæ lucos, ubi mollis amaracus illum
Floribus, et dulci aspirans amplectitur umbrâ.
Virgil, Æneid i. 692.

And Johannes Secundus, Eleg. Cum Venus Ascanium.

Mr. Butler frequently gives us specimens of poetical imagery, which lead us to believe that he might have ranked with the first class of elegant writers.

† This is a banter upon some of the romance writers of those days.

‡ In Grey's edition it is thus pointed:

His tugg'd ears suffer'd; with a strain
They both drew up—

But I should rather suppose the poet meant a well-tuned theorbo, to ease the pain with a strain, that is, with music and a song.

§ Thus Ajax is described by Homer:

Θὺδ' ἄν Ἀχιλλῆϊ ῥηξήνορι χωρήσειεν,
Ἔν γ' αὐτοσαδίῃ· ποσὶ δ' οἷός ἐστιν ἐρίζειν.
Il. xiii. 324.

‖ Hercules, when he bewails the loss of Hylas:

——Volat ordine nullo
Cuncta petens; nunc ad ripas, dejectaque saxis

He beat his breast, and tore his hair,
For loss of his dear crony bear;

Flumina; nunc notas nemorum procurrit ad umbras:
Rursus Hylan, et rursus Hylan per longa reclamat
Avia: responsant silvæ, et vaga certat imago.
Val. Flac. Argon. iii. 593.

Τρὶς μὲν Ὕλαν ἄϋσεν ὅσον βαθὺς ἤρυγε λαιμὸς,
Τρὶς δ' ἄρ' ὁ παῖς ὑμάκουσεν· ἀραιὰ δ' ἴκετο φωνὰ
Ἐξ ὕδατος. Theocritus, dyl. xiii. 58.

Echoes have frequently been employed by the poets. Mr. Butler ridicules this false kind of wit, and produces answers which are sufficiently whimsical. The learned Erasmus composed a dialogue upon this subject: his Echo seems to have been an extraordinary linguist; for she answers the person, with whom she converses, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

"The conceit of making Echo talk sensibly," says Mr. Addison, Spectator, No. 59, "and give rational answers, if it could be "excusable in any writer, would be so in Ovid, where he intro-"duces Echo as a nymph, before she was worn away into "nothing but a voice. The passage relating her conversation with Narcissus is very ingenious:

Forte puer, comitum seductus ab agmine fido,
Dixerat, Ecquis adest? et Adest, responderat Echo.
Hic stupet: utque aciem partes divisit in omnes;
Voce, Veni, clamat magnâ. Vocat illa vocantem.
Respicit: et nullo rursus veniente, Quid, inquit,
Me fugis? et totidem, quot dixit, verba recepit
Perstat; et alternæ deceptus imagine vocis
Huc coëamus, ait; nullique libentius unquam
Responsura sono, Coëamus, retulit Echo.
Metamorph. iii. 379.

A friend of mine, who boasted much of his park and gardens in Ireland, among other curiosities mentioned an extraordinary Echo, that would return answers to any thing which was said. Of what kind?—inquired a gentleman present. Why, says he, if I call out loud, How do you do, Coaner? the Echo immediately answers, Very well, thank you, sir.

Stout Hercules for loss of Hylas;—Euripides, in his Andromeda, a tragedy now lost, had a scene of this kind, which Aristophanes makes sport with in his Feast of Ceres.

In the Anthologia, lib. iii. 6, is an epigram of Leonidas, and in the 4th book are six lines by Guaradas. See Brunck's Analecta, vol. ii.

α Αχὼ φίλα μοι συγκαταίνεσόν τί.—β τί;
α Ἐρῶ Κορίσκας· ἀ δέ μ' οὐ φιλεῖ.—β φιλεῖ.
α Πρᾶξαι δ' ὁ Καιρὸς καιρὸν οὐ φέρει.—β φέρει.
α Τὸ τοίνυν αὐτᾷ λέξον ὡς ἐρῶ.—β ἐρῶ.
α Καὶ πίστιν αὐτᾷ κερμάτων τὸ δός.—β τὸ δός·
α Αχὼ, τί λοιπὸν, ἢ πόθῳ τυχεῖν;—β τυχεῖν.

Echo! I love, advise me somewhat:—What?
Does Cloe's heart incline to love?—To love, &c.

Martial ridicules the Latin authors of his time for this false wit, and promises that none shall be found in his writings. The early French poets have fallen into this puerility. Joachim de Bellay has an Echo of this kind, a few lines of which I will transcribe:

That Echo, from the hollow ground,
His doleful wailings did resound
More wistfully, by many times,
Than in small poets' splay-foot rhymes
That make her, in their ruthful stories,
To answer to int'rogatories,
And most unconscionably depose
To things of which she nothing knows;
And when she has said all she can say,
'Tis wrested to the lover's fancy.
Quoth he, O whither, wicked Bruin,
Art thou fled to my—Echo, *ruin.*
I thought th' hadst scorn'd to budge a step,
For fear. Quoth Echo, *Marry guep.**
Am not I here to take thy part?
Then what has quail'd thy stubborn heart?†
Have these bones rattled, and this head
So often in thy quarrel bled?
Nor did I ever wince or grudge it,
For thy dear sake. Quoth she, *Mum budget.*‡
Think'st thou 'twill not be laid i' th' dish§
Thou turn'dst thy back? Quoth Echo, *Pish.*
To run from those th' hadst overcome
Thus cowardly? Quoth Echo, *Mum.*
But what a-vengeance makes thee fly
From me too, as thine enemy?
Or, if thou hast no thought of me,
Nor what I have endur'd for thee,
Yet shame and honour might prevail

Qui est l'auteur de ces maux avenus?—Venus.
Qu'étois-je avant d'entrer en ce passage?—Sage.
Qu'est-ce qu'aimer et se plaindre souvent?—Vent.
Dis-moi quelle est celle pour qui j'endure?—Dure.
Sent-elle bien la douleur qui me point?—Point.

* A sort of imprecation of Mary come up, praying the Virgin Mary to help; though some derive it otherwise. See Bishop Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, and v. 16 of the Wanton Wife of Bath.

† *Quail*, to cause to shrink, or faint; from A. S. cwealm, mors, cwellan, occidere. A qualm, deliquium animi, brevior mors. The word is frequently used in ancient songs and ballads.

‡ A term denoting silence.

[I come to her in white, and cry *mum*; and she cries *budget*; and by that we know one another.—Merry Wives, Act v. sc. 2.]

§ [To lay in one's dish, to object a thing to a person, to make it an accusation against him.

Last night you *lay it*, madam, *in our dish*,
How that a maid of ours (whom me must check)
Had broke your b'tches leg.
Sir John Harr. Epigr. l. 27.]

To keep thee thus from turning tail:
For who would grutch to spend his blood in
His honour's cause? Quoth she, *a Puddin.*
This said, his grief to anger turn'd,
Which in his manly stomach burn'd;
Thirst of revenge, and wrath, in place
Of sorrow, now began to blaze.
He vow'd the authors of his woe
Should equal vengeance undergo;
And with their bones and flesh pay dear
For what he suffer'd and his bear.
This b'ing resolv'd, with equal speed
And rage, he hasted to proceed
To action straight, and giving o'er
To search for bruin any more,
He went in quest of Hudibras,
To find him out, where'er he was;
And if he were above ground, vow'd
He'd ferret him, lurk where he wou'd.
But scarce had he a furlong on
This resolute adventure gone,
When he encounter'd with that crew
Whom Hudibras did late subdue.
Honour, revenge, contempt, and shame,
Did equally their breasts inflame.
'Mong these the fierce Magnano was,
And Talgol, foe to Hudibras:
Cerdon and Colon, warriors stout,
And resolute, as ever fought;
Whom furious Orsin thus bespoke:
Shall we, quoth he, thus basely brook
The vile affront that paltry ass,
And feeble scoundrel, Hudibras,
With that more paltry ragamuffin,
Ralpho, with vaporing and huffing,
Have put upon us, like tame cattle,
As if th' had routed us in battle?
For my part it shall ne'er be said
I for the washing gave my head:*

* That is, behaved cowardly, or surrendered at discretion: jeering obliquely perhaps at the anabaptistical notions of Ralpho. —Hooker, or Vowler, in his description of Exeter, written about 1584, speaking of the parson of St. Thomas, who was hanged during the siege, says, "he was a stout man, who would not "give his head for the polling, nor his beard for the washing." Grey gives an apt quotation from Cupid's Revenge, by Beaumont and Fletcher, Act iv.

1st Citizen It holds, he dies this morning.

Nor did I turn my back for fear
Of them, but losing of my bear,
Which now I'm like to undergo;
For whether these fell wounds, or no,
He has receiv'd in fight, are mortal,
Is more than all my skill can foretel;
Nor do I know what is become
Of him, more than the Pope of Rome.*
But if I can but find them out
That caus'd it, as I shall no doubt,
Where'er th' in hugger-mugger lurk,†
I'll make them rue their handiwork,
And wish that they had rather dar'd
To pull the devil by the beard.‡
  Quoth Cerdon, noble Orsin, th' hast
Great reason to do as thou say'st,
And so has ev'ry body here,
As well as thou hast, or thy bear:
Others may do as they see good;
But if this twig be made of wood
That will hold tack, I'll make the fur
Fly 'bout the ears of that old cur,
And th' other mongrel vermin, Ralph,
That brav'd us all in his behalf.
Thy bear is safe, and out of peril,
Tho' lugg'd indeed, and wounded very ill;
Myself and Trulla made a shift
To help him out at a dead lift;
And having brought him bravely off,
Have left him where he's safe enough:
There let him rest; for if we stay,
The slaves may hap to get away.
  This said, they all engag'd to join
Their forces in the same design,
And forthwith put themselves, in search
Of Hudibras, upon their march:
Where leave we them awhile, to tell
What the victorious knight befell;

2d Citizen. Then happy man be his fortune.

1st Citizen. And so am I and forty more good fellows, that will not *give their heads for the washing.*

* This common saying is a sneer at the Pope's infallibility.

† [In secrecy or concealment.

——— and we have done but greenly
In *hugger-mugger* to inter him. Hamlet, iv. 5.]

‡ A proverbial expression used for any bold or daring enterprise: so we say, To take a lion by the beard. The Spaniards deemed it an unpardonable affront to be pulled by the beard.

For such, Crowdero being fast
In dungeon shut, we left him last.
Triumphant laurels seem'd to grow
Nowhere so green as on his brow;
Laden with which, as well as tir'd
With conqu'ring toil, he now retir'd
Unto a neighb'ring castle by,
To rest his body, and apply
Fit med'cines to each glorious bruise
He'd got in fight, reds, blacks, and blues;
To mollify th' uneasy pang
Of ev'ry honourable bang.
Which b'ing by skilful midwife drest,
He laid him down to take his rest.
But all in vain: he 'ad got a hurt
O' th' inside, of a deadlier sort,
By Cupid made, who took his stand
Upon a widow's jointure-land,*
For he, in all his am'rous battles,
No 'dvantage finds like goods and chattels,
Drew home his bow, and aiming right,
Let fly an arrow at the Knight;
The shaft against a rib did glance,
And gall'd him in the purtenance;†
But time had somewhat 'swag'd his pain,
After he had found his suit in vain:
For that proud dame, for whom his soul
Was burnt in's belly like a coal,
That belly that so oft' did ake,
And suffer griping for her sake,
Till purging comfits, and ant's eggs‡
Had almost brought him off his legs,—

* Stable-stand is a term of the forest laws, and signifies a place under some convenient cover, where a deer-stealer fixes himself, and keeps watch for the purpose of killing deer as they pass by. From the place it came also to be applied to the person; and any man taken in the forest in that situation, with a gun or bow, was presumed to be an offender, and had the name of a Stable-stand. From a note by Hanmer on Shakspeare's Winter's Tale, Act ii. sc. 1. The widow is supposed to have been Mrs. Tomson, who had a jointure of 200*l.* a year.

† A ludicrous name for the knight's heart: taken, probably, from a calf's or lamb's head and purtenance, as it is vulgarly called, instead of appurtenance, which, among other entrails, contains the heart.

‡ Ants' eggs were supposed, by some, to be great antidotes to love passions.* I cannot divine what are the medical qualities

* Verum equidem miror formicarum hac in parte potentiam, quum quatuor tantum in potu sumptas, omnem Veneris, ac coëundi potentiam auferre tradit Brunfelsius.

Us'd him so like a base rascallion,
That old *Pyg*—what d' y' call him—*malion*,
That cut his mistress out of stone,*
Had not so hard a hearted one.
She had a thousand jadish tricks,
Worse than a mule that flings and kicks;
'Mong which one cross-grain'd freak she had,
As insolent as strange and mad;
She could love none but only such
As scorn'd and hated her as much.†
'Twas a strange riddle of a lady;
Not love, if any lov'd her: ha-day !‡

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of them. Palladius, de re rustica. 29. 2, directs ants' eggs to be given to young pheasants.—Plutarch, ii. 928, and ii. 974, says that bears, when they are sick, cure themselves by swallowing ants. . Frosted caraway seeds (common sugar plums) are not unlike ants' eggs.

* Pygmalion, as the mythologists say, fell in love with a statue of his own carving; and Venus, to gratify him, turned it into a living woman.

The truth of the story is supposed to be, that he had a very beautiful wife, whose skin far surpassed the whiteness of ivory. Or it may mean, to show the painter's or statuary's vanity, and extreme fondness of his own performance. See Fr. Junius, in Catalog. Architect. Pictor. Statuarior. &c., pp. 188, 163. *Stone*, instead of ivory, that the widow's hard heart, v. 330, might be the nearer resembled: so brazen, for stone, in Pope's description of Cibber's brothers in the Dunciad, i. 32, that the resemblance between him and them might be the stronger. So in our poet a goose, instead of some more considerable fowl, is described with talons, only because Hudibras was to be compared to a fowl with such: but making a goose have talons, and Hudibras like a goose, to which wise animal he had before compared a justice, P. i. c. i. v. 75, heightens the ridicule. See P. i. c. iii. v. 525.

If the reader loves a punning epitaph, let him peruse the following, on a youth who died for love of Molly Stone:

Molle fuit saxum, saxum, O! si Molle fuisset,
Non foret hic subter, sed super esset ei.

† Such a capricious kind of love is described by Horace: Satires, book i. ii. 105.

—— Leporem venator ut altâ
In nive sectatur, positum sic tangere nolit:
Cantat et apponit: meus est amor huic similis; nam
Transvolat in medio posita, et fugientia captat.

Nearly a translation of the eleventh epigram of Callimachus, which ends,

χὠὐμος ἔρως τοιόσδε· τὰ μὲν φεύγοντα διώκειν
οἶδε, τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ κείμενα παρπέταται.

‡ In the edition of 1678 it is *Hey-day*, but either may stand, as they both signify a mark of admiration. See Skinner and Junius.

So cowards never use their might,
But against such as will not fight.
So some diseases have been found
Only to seize upon the sound.*
He that gets her by heart, must say her
The back-way, like a witch's prayer.
Meanwhile the Knight had no small task
To compass what he durst not ask:
He loves, but dares not make the motion;
Her ignorance is his devotion:†
Like caitiff vile, that for misdeed
Rides with his face to rump of steed;‡
Or rowing scull he's fain to love,
Look one way, and another move;
Or like a tumbler that does play
His game, and looks another way,§
Until he seize upon the coney;
Just so does he by matrimony,
But all in vain: her subtle snout
Did quickly wind his meaning out;
Which she return'd with too much scorn
To be by man of honour born;

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* It is common for horses, as well as men, to be afflicted "with sciatica, or rheumatism, to a great degree for weeks together, and when they once get clear of the fit," as we term it, "have perhaps never heard any more of it while they lived: "for these distempers, with some others, called salutary distempers, seldom or never seize upon an unsound body." See Bracken's Farriery Improved, ii. 46. The meaning, then, from v. 338, is this: As the widow loved none that were disposed to love her, so cowards fight with none that are disposed to fight with them: so some diseases seize upon none that are already distempered, and in appearance proper subjects for them, but upon those only who, through the firmness of their constitution, seem least disposed for such attacks.

† That is, her ignorance of his love makes him adore and pursue her with greater ardor: but the poet here means to banter the papists, who deny to the common people the use of the bible or prayer-book in the vulgar tongue: hence they are charged with asserting, that ignorance is the mother of devotion.

‡ Dr. Grey supposes this may allude to five members of the army, who, on the 6th of March, 1648, were forced to undergo this punishment, for petitioning the Rump for relief of the oppressed commonwealth.

§ A sort of dog, that rolls himself in a heap, and tumbles over, disguising his shape and motion, till he is within reach of his game. This dog is called by the Latins Vertagus. See Caius de canibus Britannicis, and Martial. lib. xiv. Epig. 200.

Non sibi, sed domino venatur vertagus acer,
Illæsum leporem qui tibi dente feret.

Yet much he bore, until the distress
He suffer'd from his spightful mistress
Did stir his stomach, and the pain
He had endur'd from her disdain
Turn'd to regret so resolute,
That he resolv'd to wave his suit,
And either to renounce her quite,
Or for a while play least in sight.
This resolution b'ing put on,
He kept some months, and more had done,
But being brought so nigh by fate,
The vict'ry he achiev'd so late
Did set his thoughts agog, and ope
A door to discontinu'd hope,*
That seem'd to promise he might win
His dame too, now his hand was in;
And that his valour, and the honour
He 'ad newly gain'd, might work upon her:
These reasons made his mouth to water,
With am'rous longings, to be at her.
Thought he unto himself, who knows
But this brave conquest o'er my foes
May reach her heart, and make that stoop,
As I but now have forc'd the troop?
If nothing can oppugne love,†
And virtue invious ways can prove,‡
What may not he confide to do
That brings both love and virtue too?
But thou bring'st valour too, and wit,
Two things that seldom fail to hit.
Valour's a mouse-trap, wit a gin,
Which women oft' are taken in:§
Then, Hudibras, why should'st thou fear
To be, that art a conqueror?
Fortune the audacious doth juvare,
But let's the timidous‖ miscarry:
Then, while the honor thou hast got
Is spick and span new, piping hot,

* One of the canting phrases used by the sectaries.
† Read oppugnė, to make three syllables.
‡ Virtus, recludens immeritis mori
Cœlum, negatà tentat iter viâ.
Horat. Carm. lib. iii. 2.
§ We often see women captivated by a red coat, or a copy of verses.
‖ *Audacous*, and *timidous*, two words from audax and timidus; the hero being in a latinizing humor.

Strike her up bravely thou hadst best,
And trust thy fortune with the rest.
Such thoughts as these the Knight did keep
More than his bangs, or fleas, from sleep;
And as an owl, that in a barn
Sees a mouse creeping in the corn,
Sits still, and shuts his round blue eyes,
As if he slept, until he spies
The little beast within his reach,
Then starts and seizes on the wretch;
So from his couch the Knight did start,
To seize upon the widow's heart;
Crying, with hasty tone and hoarse,
Ralpho, dispatch, to horse, to horse!
And 'twas but time; for now the rout,
We left engag'd to seek him out,
By speedy marches were advanc'd
Up to the fort where he ensconc'd,*
And had the avenues all possest
About the place from east to west.
That done, awhile they made a halt,
To view the ground, and where t' assault;
Then call'd a council, which was best,
By siege, or onslaught, to invest†
The enemy; and 'twas agreed
By storm and onslaught to proceed.
This being resolv'd, in comely sort
They now drew up t' attack the fort;
When Hudibras, about to enter
Upon anothergates adventure,‡
To Ralpho call'd aloud to arm,
Not dreaming of approaching storm.
Whether dame fortune, or the care
Of angel bad, or tutelar,
Did arm, or thrust him on a danger,
To which he was an utter stranger,
That foresight might, or might not, blot
The glory he had newly got;
Or to his shame it might be said,
They took him napping in his bed:

* An army is said to be ensconced, when it is fortified or defended by a small fort or sconce.

† Onslaught, that is, a coup de main, a sudden storming, or attack.

‡ See Sanderson, p. 47, third sermon ad clerum. "If we be "of the spirituality, there should be in us anothergates manifestation of the spirit."

To them we leave it to expound,
That deal in sciences profound.
His courser scarce he had bestrid,
And Ralpho that on which he rid,
When setting ope the postern gate,
To take the field and sally at,
The foe appear'd, drawn up and drill'd,*
Ready to charge them in the field.
This somewhat startled the bold Knight,
Surpris'd with th' unexpected sight:
The bruises of his bones and flesh
He thought began to smart afresh;
Till recollecting wonted courage,
His fear was soon converted to rage,
And thus he spoke: The coward foe,
Whom we but now gave quarter to,
Look, yonder's rally'd, and appears
As if they had outrun their fears;
The glory we did lately get,
The Fates command us to repeat;†
And to their wills we must succumb,
Quocunque trahunt, 'tis our doom.
This is the same numeric crew
Which we so lately did subdue;
The self-same individuals that
Did run, as mice do from a cat,
When we courageously did wield
Our martial weapons in the field,
To tug for victory: and when
We shall our shining blades agen
Brandish in terror o'er our heads,‡
They'll straight resume their wonted dreads.
Fear is an ague, that forsakes
And haunts, by fits, those whom it takes;
And they'll opine they feel the pain
And blows they felt to-day, again.
Then let us boldly charge them home,
And make no doubt to overcome.

* To drill, is to exercise and teach the military discipline.

† This is exactly in the style of victorious leaders. Thus Hannibal encouraged his men: "These are the same Romans "whom you have beaten so often." And Octavius addressed his soldiers at Actium: "It is the same Antony whom you once "drove out of the field before Mutina: Be, as you have been, "conquerors."

‡ —— *ἀτινασσων φάσγανον ὀξὺ.* Homer

This said, his courage to inflame,
He call'd upon his mistress' name,*
His pistol next he cock'd anew,
And out his nut-brown whinyard drew ;†
And placing Ralpho in the front,‡
Reserv'd himself to bear the brunt,
As expert warriors use ; then ply'd,
With iron heel, his courser's side,
Conveying sympathetic speed
From heel of knight to heel of steed.
Meanwhile the foe, with equal rage
And speed, advancing to engage,
Both parties now were drawn so close,
Almost to come to handy-blows:
When Orsin first let fly a stone
At Ralpho ; not so huge a one
As that which Diomed did maul
Æneas on the bum withal ;§
Yet big enough, if rightly hurl'd,
T' have sent him to another world,
Whether above ground, or below,
Which saints, twice dipt, are destin'd to.‖

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* Cervantes, upon almost every occasion, makes Quixote invoke his Dulcinea. Mr. Jarvis, in his life of Cervantes, observes, from the old collection of Spanish laws, that they hold it a noble thing to call upon the name of their mistresses, that their hearts may swell with an increase of courage, and their shame be the greater if they fail in their attempt.

† This word whinyard signifies a sword. Skinner derives it from the Saxon winnan, to win or acquire honor; but, as it is chiefly used in contempt, Johnson derives it from whin, furze; so whinniard, the short scythe or instrument with which country people cut whins.

‡ Like Thraso in Terence. Eunuchus, iv. 7, who says, "Ego ero post principia."

§ —— ὁ δὲ χερμάδιον λάβε χειρὶ
Τυδείδης, μέγα ἔργον, ὃ οὐ δύο γ' ἄνδρε φέροιεν,
Οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσ'· ὁ δέ μιν ῥέα πάλλε καὶ οἶος.
Τῷ βάλεν Αἰνείαο κατ' ἰσχίον, ἔνθα τε μηρὸς
Ἰσχίῳ ἐνστρέφεται·

Iliad. v. 302.

And Juvenal:

nec hunc lapidem, quali se Turnus, et Ajax;
Vel quo Tydides percussit pondere coxam
Æneæ; sed quem valeant emittere dextræ
Illis dissimiles, et nostro tempore natæ.

Sat. xv. 65.

‖ The anabaptists thought they obtained a higher degree of saintship by being rebaptized.

The danger startled the bold Squire,
And made him some few steps retire;
But Hudibras advanc'd to's aid,
And rous'd his spirits half dismay'd;
He wisely doubting lest the shot
O' th' enemy, now growing hot,
Might at a distance gall, press'd close,
To come, pell-mell, to handy blows,
And that he might their aim decline,
Advanc'd still in an oblique line;
But prudently forbore to fire,
Till breast to breast he had got nigher;*
As expert warriors use to do,
When hand to hand they charge their foe.
This order the advent'rous Knight,
Most soldier-like, observ'd in fight,
When Fortune, as she's wont, turn'd fickle,
And for the foe began to stickle.
The more shame for her Goodyship
To give so near a friend the slip.
For Colon, choosing out a stone,
Levell'd so right, it thump'd upon
His manly paunch, with such a force,
As almost beat him off his horse,
He loos'd his whinyard, and the rein,
But laying fast hold on the mane,
Preserved his seat: and, as a goose
In death contracts his talons close,
So did the knight, and with one claw
The trigger of his pistol draw.
The gun went off; and as it was
Still fatal to stout Hudibras,
In all his feats of arms, when least
He dreamt of it, to prosper best,
So now he far'd: the shot let fly,
At random, 'mong the enemy,
Pierc'd Talgol's gaberdine,† and grazing
Upon his shoulder, in the passing
Lodg'd in Magnano's brass habergeon,‡

* Oliver Cromwell ordered his soldiers to reserve their fire till they were near enough the enemy to be sure of doing execution.

† An old French word for a smock frock, or coarse coat.

‡ Habergeon, a diminutive of the French word hauberg, a breastplate; and derived from [the German] hals, collum, and bergen seu pergen, tegere. See Chaucer. Here it signifies the tinker's budget.

Who straight, A surgeon cry'd—a surgeon!
He tumbled down, and, as he fell,
Did murder! murder! murder! yell.*
This startled their whole body so,
That if the Knight had not let go
His arms, but been in warlike plight,
H' had won, the second time, the fight;
As, if the Squire had but fall'n on,
He had inevitably done:
But he, diverted with the care
Of Hudibras his wound, forbare
To press th' advantage of his fortune,
While danger did the rest dishearten.
For he with Cerdon b'ing engag'd
In close encounter, they both wag'd
The fight so well, 'twas hard to say
Which side was like to get the day.
And now the busy work of death
Had tir'd them so they 'greed to breathe,
Preparing to renew the fight,
When th' hard disaster of the knight,
And th' other party, did divert
And force their sullen rage to part.
Ralpho press'd up to Hudibras,
And Cerdon where Magnano was,
Each striving to confirm his party
With stout encouragements and hearty.
  Quoth Ralpho, Courage, valiant Sir,
And let revenge and honour stir
Your spirits up; once more fall on,
The shatter'd foe begins to run:
For if but half so well you knew
To use your vict'ry as subdue,†
They durst not, after such a blow
As you have giv'n them, face us now;

* To howl or use a lamentable cry, from the Greek, *ἀλεμες* or ὀλολύζω, ejulo, a mournful song used at funerals, and practised to this day in some parts of Ireland, and the highlands of Scotland.

† This perhaps has some reference to Prince Rupert, who was generally successful at his first onset, but lost his advantage by too long a pursuit. Echard, vol. ii. p. 480. The same is said of Hannibal, Florus, lib. ii. cap. 6. Dubium deinde non erat, quin ultimum illum diem habitura fuerit Roma quintumque intra diem epulari Annibal in capitolio potuerit, si (quod Pœnum illum dixisse Adherbalem Bomilcaris ferunt) Annibal *quemadmodum sciret vincere, sic uti victoria scisset.* Cæsar said the same of Pompey. Sueton. in Vita.

But from so formidable a soldier,
Had fled like crows when they smell powder.
Thrice have they seen your sword aloft
Wav'd o'er their heads, and fled as oft:
But if you let them recollect
Their spirits, now dismay'd and check'd,
You'll have a harder game to play
Than yet y' have had, to get the day.
Thus spoke the stout Squire; but was heard
By Hudibras with small regard.
His thoughts were fuller of the bang
He lately took, than Ralph's harangue;
To which he answer'd, Cruel fate
Tells me thy counsel comes too late,
The clotted blood within my hose,*
That from my wounded body flows,
With mortal crisis doth portend
My days to appropinque† an end.
I am for action now unfit,
Either of fortitude or wit;
Fortune, my foe, begins to frown,
Resolv'd to pull my stomach down.
I am not apt, upon a wound,
Or trivial basting, to dispond;
Yet I'd be loath my days to curtail;
For if I thought my wounds not mortal,
Or that w' had time enough as yet
To make an honourable retreat,
'Twere the best course; but if they find
We fly, and leave our arms behind
For them to seize on, the dishonour,
And danger too, is such, I'll sooner
Stand to it boldly, and take quarter,
To let them see I am no starter.
In all the trade of war no feat
Is nobler than a brave retreat:
For those that run away, and fly,
Take place at least o' th' enemy.
This said, the Squire, with active speed,
Dismounted from his bony‡ steed
To seize the arms, which by mischance
Fell from the bold Knight in a trance.

---

* In some editions—*the knotted blood.*

† One of the knight's hard words, signifying to approach, or draw near to.

‡ In some editions it is *bonny*, but I prefer the reading of 1678.

These being found out, and restor'd
To Hudibras, their natural lord,
The active Squire, with might and main,
Prepar'd in haste to mount again.
Thrice he assay'd to mount aloft;
But by his weighty bum, as oft
He was pull'd back; 'till having found
Th' advantage of the rising ground,
Thither he led his warlike steed,
And having plac'd him right, with speed
Prepar'd again to scale the beast,
When Orsin, who had newly drest
The bloody scar upon the shoulder
Of Talgol, with Promethean powder,*
And now was searching for the shot
That laid Magnano on the spot,
Behind the sturdy Squire aforesaid
Preparing to climb up his horse-side;
He left his cure, and laying hold
Upon his arms, with courage bold
Cry'd out, 'Tis now no time to dally,
The enemy begin to rally:
Let us that are unhurt and whole
Fall on, and happy man be's dole.†
This said, like to a thunderbolt,
He flew with fury to th' assault,
Striving the enemy to attack
Before he reach'd his horse's back.
Ralpho was mounted now, and gotten
O'erthwart his beast with active vaulting,
Wriggling his body to recover
His seat, and cast his right leg over;
When Orsin, rushing in, bestow'd
On horse and man so heavy a load,
The beast was startled, and begun

---

* See canto ii. v. 225.—In a long enumeration of his several beneficent inventions, Prometheus, in Æschylus, boasts especially of his communicating to mankind the knowledge of medicines.

ἔδειξα κράσεις ἡπίων ἀκεσμάτων
αἷς τὰς ἁπάσας ἐξαμύνωνται νόσους.
Æsch. Prometh. vinct. v. 491, ed. Blomf.

† See Shakspeare, Taming the Shrew, Act i. sc. 1, and Winter's Tale, Act i. sc. 2.

Dole, from daelan, to distribute, signifies the shares formerly given at funerals and other occasions, May happiness be his share or lot, May the lot of the happy man be his. As we say of a person at the point of death, God rest his soul.

To kick and fling like mad, and run,
Bearing the tough Squire, like a sack,
Or stout king Richard, on his back;*
'Till stumbling, he threw him down,†
Sore bruis'd, and cast into a swoon.
Meanwhile the Knight began to rouse
The sparkles of his wonted prowess;
He thrust his hand into his hose,
And found, both by his eyes and nose,
'Twas only choler, and not blood,
That from his wounded body flow'd.‡
This, with the hazard of the Squire,
Enflam'd him with despightful ire;
Courageously he fac'd about,
And drew his other pistol out,
And now had half-way bent the cock,
When Cerdon gave so fierce a shock,
With sturdy truncheon, 'thwart his arm,
That down it fell, and did no harm:
Then stoutly pressing on with speed,
Assay'd to pull him off his steed,
The knight his sword had only left,
With which he Cerdon's head had cleft,
Or at the least cropt off a limb,
But Orsin came and rescu'd him.
He with his lance attack'd the Knight
Upon his quarters opposite.
But as a bark, that in foul weather,
Toss'd by two adverse winds together,
Is bruis'd and beaten to and fro,
And knows not which to turn him to:
So far'd the Knight between two foes,
And knew not which of them t' oppose;
'Till Orsin charging with his lance
At Hudibras, by spightful chance
Hit Cerdon such a bang, as stunn'd
And laid him flat upon the ground.
At this the Knight began to cheer up,

* After the battle of Bosworth-field, the body of Richard III was stripped, and in an ignominious manner laid across a horse's back like a slaughtered deer; his head and arms hanging on one side, and his legs on the other, besmeared with blood and dirt.

† We must here read stumbleing, to make three syllables, as in verse 770 lightening, so in 875 read sarcasmes; or, perhaps, we may read stumbeling, sarcasems, &c.

‡ The delicate reader will easily guess what is here intended by the word choler.

And raising up himself on stirrup,
Cry'd out, Victoria! lie thou there,*
And I shall straight dispatch another,
To bear thee company in death:†
But first I'll halt awhile, and breathe.
As well he might: for Orsin griev'd
At th' wound that Cerdon had receiv'd,
Ran to relieve him with his lore,
And cure the hurt he made before.
Meanwhile the Knight had wheel'd about,
To breathe himself, and next find out
Th' advantage of the ground, where best
He might the ruffled foe infest.
This being resolv'd, he spurr'd his steed,
To run at Orsin with full speed,
While he was busy in the care
Of Cerdon's wound, and unaware:
But he was quick, and had already
Unto the part apply'd remedy;
And seeing th' enemy prepar'd,
Drew up, and stood upon his guard:
Then, like a warrior, right expert
And skilful in the martial art,
The subtle Knight straight made a halt,
And judg'd it best to stay th' assault,
Until he had reliev'd the Squire,
And then, in order, to retire;
Or, as occasion should invite,
With forces join'd renew the fight.
Ralpho, by this time disentranc'd,
Upon his bum himself advanc'd.
Though sorely bruis'd; his limbs all o'er,
With ruthless bangs were stiff and sore;
Right fain he would have got upon
His feet again, to get him gone;
When Hudibras to aid him came.
Quoth he, and call'd him by his name,
Courage, the day at length is ours,
And we once more as conquerors,
Have both the field and honour won,
The foe is profligate, and run;

* Thus Virgil and Homer:

Hesperiam metire jacens. Æn. xii. 360.
Istic nunc, metuende, jace. Æn. x. 557.
Ἐνταυθοῖ νῦν κεῖσο. Il. Φ. 122.

† This is a banter upon some of the speeches in Homer.

I mean all such as can, for some
This hand hath sent to their long home;
And some lie sprawling on the ground,
With many a gash and bloody wound.
Cæsar himself could never say,
He got two vict'ries in a day,
As I have done, that can say, twice I,
In one day, veni, vidi, vici.*
The foe's so numerous, that we
Cannot so often vincere,†
And they perire, and yet enow
Be left to strike an after-blow.
Then, lest they rally, and once more
Put us to fight the bus'ness o'er,
Get up and mount thy steed; dispatch,
And let us both their motions watch.
Quoth Ralph, I should not, if I were
In case for action, now be here;
Nor have I turn'd my back, or hang'd
An arse, for fear of being bang'd.
It was for you I got these harms,
Advent'ring to fetch off your arms.
The blows and drubs I have receiv'd
Have bruised my body, and bereav'd
My limbs of strength: unless you stoop,
And reach your hand to pull me up,
I shall lie here, and be a prey
To those who now are run away.
That thou shalt not, quoth Hudibras:
We read, the ancients held it was
More honourable far servare
Civem, than slay an adversary;
The one we oft' to-day have done,
The other shall dispatch anon:
And tho' th'art of a diff'rent church,
I will not leave thee in the lurch.‡
This said, he jogg'd his good steed nigher,

* The favorite terms by which Cæsar described his victory over Pharnaces. In his consequent triumph at Rome, these words, (translated thus into English, I came, I saw, I overcame,) were painted on a tablet and carried before him. See Plutarch's Life of Julius Cæsar.

† A great general, being informed that his enemies were very numerous, replied, then there are enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away.

‡ This is a sneer at the Independents, who, when they had gotten possession of the government, deserted their old allies, the Presbyterians, and treated them with great hauteur

And steer'd him gently toward the Squire;
Then bowing down his body, stretch'd
His hand out, and at a Ralpho reach'd;
When Trulla, whom he did not mind,
Charg'd him like lightning behind.
She had been long in search about
Magnano's wound, to find it out;
But could find none, nor where the shot
That had so startled him was got:
But having found the worst was past,
She fell to her own work at last,
The pillage of the prisoners,
Which in all feats of arms was hers:
And now to plunder Ralph she flew,
When Hudibras his hard fate drew
To succour him; for, as he bow'd
To help him up, she laid a load
Of blows so heavy, and plac'd so well,
On th' other side, that down he fell.
  Yield, scoundrel base, quoth she, or die,
Thy life is mine, and liberty:
But if thou think'st I took thee tardy,
And dar'st presume to be so hardy,
To try thy fortune o'er afresh,
I'll wave my title to thy flesh,
Thy arms and baggage, now my right:
And if thou hast the heart to try't,
I'll lend thee back thyself awhile,*
And once more, for that carcase vile,
Fight upon tick.—Quoth Hudibras,
Thou offer'st nobly, valiant lass,
And I shall take thee at thy word.
First let me rise, and take my sword;
That sword, which has so oft this day
Through squadrons of my foes made way,
And some to other worlds dispatch'd,
Now with a feeble spinster match'd,
Will blush with blood ignoble stain'd,
By which no honour's to be gain'd.†

* Charles XII., king of Sweden, having taken a town from the duke of Saxony, then king of Poland, the duke intimated that there must have been treachery in the case. On which Charles offered to restore the town, replace the garrison, and then take it by storm.

† ——— Nullum memorabile nomen
Fœminea in pœnâ est, nec habet victoria laudem.
Virg. Æneid. ii. 584.

But if thou'lt take m' advice in this,
Consider, while thou may'st, what 'tis
To interrupt a victor's course,
B' opposing such a trivial force.
For if with conquest I come off,
And that I shall do sure enough,
Quarter thou canst not have, nor grace,
By law of arms, in such a case;
Both which I now do offer freely.
I scorn, quoth she, thou coxcomb silly,
Clapping her hand upon her breech,
To shew how much she priz'd his speech,
Quarter or counsel from a foe:
If thou canst force me to it, do.
But lest it should again be said,
When I have once more won thy head,
I took thee napping, unprepar'd,
Arm, and betake thee to thy guard.
This said, she to her tackle fell,
And on the Knight let fall a peal
Of blows so fierce, and prest so home,
That he retir'd, and follow'd's bum.
Stand to't, quoth she, or yield to mercy,
It is not fighting arsie-versie*
Shall serve thy turn.—This stirr'd his spleen
More than the danger he was in,
The blows he felt, or was to feel,
Although th' already made him reel,
Honour, despight, revenge, and shame,
At once into his stomach came;
Which fir'd it so, he rais'd his arm
Above his head, and rain'd a storm
Of blows so terrible and thick,
As if he meant to hash her quick.
But she upon her truncheon took them,
And by oblique diversion broke them;
Waiting an opportunity
To pay all back with usury,
Which long she fail'd not of; for now
The Knight, with one dead-doing blow,
Resolving to decide the fight,
And she with quick and cunning slight

* That is, ὕστερον πρότερον, wrong end foremost, bottom upward: but it originally signified averte ignem, Tuscorum lingua, Arse averte, verse ignem constat appellari: unde, Afranius ait, inscribat aliquis in ostio arse verse. S. Pompeius Festus de verborum significatione, p. 18.

Avoiding it, the force and weight
He charg'd upon it was so great,
As almost sway'd him to the ground:
No sooner she th' advantage found,
But in she flew; and seconding,
With home-made thrust, the heavy swing,
She laid him flat upon his side,
And mounting on his trunk astride,
Quoth she, I told thee what would come
Of all thy vapouring, base scum.
Say, will the law of arms allow
I may have grace, and quarter now?
Or wilt thou rather break thy word,
And stain thine honour, than thy sword?
A man of war to damn his soul,
In basely breaking his parole.
And when before the fight, th'hadst vowed
To give no quarter in cold blood;
Now thou hast got me for a Tartar,*
To make m' against my will take quarter;

---

* The Tartars had much rather die in battle than take quarter. Hence the proverb, Thou hast caught a Tartar.—A man catches a Tartar when he falls into his own trap, or having a design upon another, is caught himself.

Help, help, cries one, I have caught a Tartar. Bring him along, answers his comrade. He will not come, says he. Then come without him, quoth the other. But he will not let me, says the Tartar-catcher. I have somewhere read the following lines:

Seres inter nationemque Tartaram
Flagrabat bellum, fortiter vero prælians
Ter ipse manu propriâ Tartarum occupans.
Extemplo exclamat—Tartarum prehendi manu;
Veniat ad me, Dux inquit exercitus,
At se venire velle Tartarus negat:
At tecum ducas illico—sed non vult sequi,
Tu solus venias—Vellem, sed non me sinit.

Plautus has an expression not much unlike this,—potitus est hostium, to signify he was taken prisoner.—Mr. Peck, see New Memoirs of Milton's Life, p. 237, explains it in a different manner. "Bajazet," says he, "was taken prisoner by Tamerlane, "who, when he first saw him, generously asked, 'Now, sir, if "'you had taken me prisoner, as I have you, tell me, I pray, "'what you would have done with me?' 'If I had taken you "'prisoner,' said the foolish Turk, 'I would have thrust you "'under the table when I did eat, to gather up the crumbs with "'the dogs; when I rode out, I would have made your neck a "'horsing-block; and when I travelled, you also should have "'been carried along with me in an iron cage, for every fool to 'hoot and shout at.' 'I thought to have used you better,' said the gallant Tamerlane; 'but since you intended to have served 'me thus, you have' (*caught a Tartar*, for hence I reckon came that proverb) 'justly pronounced your doom.'"

Why dost not put me to the sword,
But cowardly fly from thy word?
Quoth Hudibras, The day's thine own;
Thou and thy stars have cast me down:
My laurels are transplanted now,
And flourish on thy conqu'ring brow:
My loss of honour's great enough,
Thou needst not brand it with a scoff:
Sarcasms may eclipse thine own,
But cannot blur my lost renown:
I am not now in fortune's power,
He that is down can fall no lower.*
The ancient heroes were illustr'ous
For being benign, and not blust'rous
Against a vanquish'd foe: their swords
Were sharp and trenchant, not their words;
And did in fight but cut work out
T' employ their courtesies about.†
Quoth she, Altho' thou hast deserv'd,
Base Slubberdegullion,‡ to be serv'd
As thou didst vow to deal with me,
If thou hadst got the victory;
Yet I should rather act a part
That suits my fame, than thy desert.
Thy arms, thy liberty, beside
All that's on th' outside of thy hide,
Are mine by military law,§
Of which I will not bate one straw;
The rest thy life and limbs, once more,
Though doubly forfeit, I restore.

---

* Qui decumbit humi, non habet unde cadat.

† See Cleveland, p. 144, in his letter to the Protector. "The "most renowned heroes have ever with such tenderness cher- "ished their captives, that their swords did but cut out work for "their courtesies." Thus Ovid:

Quo quis enim major, magis est placabilis iræ
Et faciles motus mens generosa capit.

And again the same:

Corpora magnanimo satis est prostrasse leoni
Pugna suum finem, cum jacet hostis, habet.
Ovid. Trist. lib. iii.

‡ That is, a drivelling fool: to slubber, or slabber, in British, is to drivel; in the Teutonic, it signifies to slip or slide, and so metaphorically to do a thing ill or faultily, or negligently; and gul, or gullion, the diminutive, a fool, or person easily imposed upon.

§ In public duels all horses, pieces of broken armor, or other furniture that fell to the ground, after the combatants entered the lists, were the fees of the marshal.

Quoth Hudibras, It is too late
For me to treat or stipulate;
What thou command'st I must obey;
Yet those whom I expugn'd to-day,
Of thine own party, I let go,
And gave them life and freedom too,
Both dogs and bear, upon their parol,
Whom I took pris'ners in this quarrel.
Quoth Trulla, Whether thou or they
Let one another run away,
Concerns not me; but was't not thou
That gave Crowdero quarter too?
Crowdero, whom in irons bound,
Thou basely threw'st into Lob's pound,*
Where still he lies, and with regret
His generous bowels rage and fret:
But now thy carcase shall redeem,
And serve to be exchang'd for him.
This said, the Knight did straight submit,
And laid his weapons at her feet:
Next he disrob'd his gaberdine,
And with it did himself resign.
She took it, and forthwith divesting
The mantle that she wore, said, jesting,
Take that, and wear it for my sake;
Then threw it o'er his sturdy back:
And as the French, we conquer'd once,
Now give us laws for pantaloons,
The length of breeches, and the gathers,
Port-cannons, perriwigs, and feathers,†

* A vulgar expression for any place of confinement, particularly the stocks.—Dr. Grey mentions a story of Mr. Lob, a preacher among the dissenters. When their meetings were prohibited, he contrived a trap-door in his pulpit, which led, through many dark windings, into a cellar. His adversaries once pursued him into these recesses, and, groping about, said one to another, that they were got into Lob's pound.

This gentleman, or one of the same name and calling, is mentioned by Mr. Prior, in his epistle to Fleetwood Shephard, esquire:

So at pure barn of loud non-con,
Where with my granam I have gone,
When Lobb had sifted all his text,
And I well hop'd the pudding next,
"Now to apply," has plagu'd me more
Than all his villain cant before.

[Massinger has the phrase, (Duke of Milan, A iii. sc. 2,) but not in the sense of a place of, at least permanent, confinement.]

† Our successful battles in France have always been mentioned with pleasure; and we seem at no time to have been

Just so the proud, insulting lass
Array'd and dighted Hudibras.*
Meanwhile the other champions, yerst†
In hurry of the fight dispers't,
Arriv'd, when Trulla'd won the day,
To share in th' honour and the prey,
And out of Hudibras his hide,
With vengeance to be satisfy'd;
Which now they were about to pour
Upon him in a wooden show'r:

---

averse to the French fashions. Pantaloons were a kind of loose breeches, commonly made of silk, and puffed, which covered the legs, thighs, and part of the body. They are represented in some of Vandyke's pictures, and may be seen in the harlequin entertainments. Port-cannons, were ornaments about the knees of the breeches; they were grown to such excess in France, that Molière was thought to have done good service, by laughing them out of fashion. Mr. Butler, in his Genuine Remains, vol. ii. p. 83, says of the huffing courtier, he walks in his Port-cannons like one that stalks in long grass. In his Genuine Remains, our poet often derides the violent imitation of French fashions. In the second volume is a satire entirely on this subject, which was a very proper object of ridicule, as after the Restoration, not only the politics of the court led to it, but, likewise, an earnest desire among the old cavaliers of avoiding the formal and precise gravity of the times immediately preceding. In the Pindaric Ode to the memory of Du Val, a poem allowed to be written by our author:

In France, the staple of new modes,
Where garbs and miens are current goods,
That serves the ruder northern nations,
With methods of address and treat,
Prescribes new garnitures and fashions,
And how to drink, and how to eat,
No out of fashion wine or meat;
Conform their palates to the mode,
And relish that, and not the food;
And, rather than transgress the rule,
Eat kitchen-stuff, and stinking fowl;
For that which we call stinking here,
Is but piquant, and haut-gout, there.

Perriwigs were brought from France about the latter end of the reign of James the First, but not much in use till after the Restoration.

At first, they were of an immense size in large flowing curls, as we see them in eternal buckles in Westminster Abbey, and on other monuments. Lord Bolingbroke is said to be the first who tied them up in knots, as the counsellors wore them some time ago: this was esteemed so great an undress, that when his lordship first went to court in a wig of this fashion, queen Anne was offended, and said to those about her, "this man will come "to me next court-day in his night-cap."

* Dighted, from the Anglo-Saxon word digtan, to dress, fit out, polish.

† Erst, adverb, superlative degree, i. e. first, from er, before

But Trulla thrust herself between,
And striding o'er his back agen,
She brandish'd o'er her head his sword,
And vow'd they should not break her word;
Sh' had given him quarter, and her blood,
Or theirs, should make that quarter good.
For she was bound, by law of arms,
To see him safe from further harms.
In dungeon deep Crowdero cast
By Hudibras, as yet lay fast,
Where to the hard and ruthless stones,*
His great heart made perpetual moans;
Him she resolv'd that Hudibras
Should ransom, and supply his place.
This stopp'd their fury, and the basting
Which toward Hudibras was hasting.
They thought it was but just and right,
That what she had achiev'd in fight,
She should dispose of how she pleas'd;
Crowdero ought to be releas'd:
Nor could that any way be done
So well, as this she pitch'd upon:
For who a better could imagine?
This therefore they resolv'd t' engage in.
The Knight and Squire first they made
Rise from the ground where they were laid,
Then mounted both upon their horses,
But with their faces to the arses.
Orsin led Hudibras's beast,
And Talgol that which Ralpho prest;
Whom stout Magnano, valiant Cerdon,
And Colon, waited as a guard on;
All ush'ring Trulla, in the rear,
With th' arms of either prisoner.
In this proud order and array,
They put themselves upon their way,
Striving to reach th' enchanted Castle,
Where stout Crowdero in durance lay still.
Thither with greater speed than shows,
And triumph over conquer'd foes,
Do use t' allow; or than the bears,
Or pageants born before lord-mayors,†

---

* Thus Virgil:

Montibus et silvis studio jactabat inani.

† I believe at the lord-mayor's show, bears were led in procession, and afterwards baited for the diversion of the populace.

Are wont to use, they soon arriv'd,
In order, soldier-like contriv'd:
Still marching in a warlike posture,
As fit for battle as for muster.
The Knight and Squire they first unhorse,
And, bending 'gainst the fort their force,
They all advanc'd, and round about
Begirt the magical redoubt.
Magnan' led up in this adventure,
And made way for the rest to enter:
For he was skilful in black art,
No less than he that built the fort,*
And with an iron mace laid flat
A breach, which straight all enter'd at,
And in the wooden dungeon found
Crowdero laid upon the ground;
Him they release from durance base,
Restor'd t' his fiddle and his case,
And liberty, his thirsty rage
With luscious vengeance to assuage;
For he no sooner was at large,
But Trulla straight brought on the charge,
And in the self-same limbo put
The Knight and Squire, where he was shut;
Where leaving them i' th' wretched hole,†
Their bangs and durance to condole,
Confin'd and conjur'd into narrow
Enchanted mansion, to know sorrow,
In the same order and array
Which they advanc'd, they march'd away:
But Hudibras, who scorn'd to stoop
To fortune, or be said to droop,
Cheer'd up himself with ends of verse,
And sayings of philosophers.
Quoth he, Th' one half of man, his mind,
Is, sui juris, unconfin'd,‡

The procession of the mob to the stocks is compared to three things: a Roman triumph, a lord-mayor's show, and leading bears about the streets.

* Magnano is before described as a blacksmith, or tinker. See Canto ii. l. 336.

† In the edition of 1704 it is printed *in Hockly hole*, meaning, by a low pun, the place where their hocks or ankles were confined. Hockley Hole, or Hockley i' th' Hole, was the name of a place resorted to for vulgar diversions.

‡ Our author here shows his learning, by bantering the stoic philosophy; and his wit, by comparing Alexander the Great with Diogenes.

And cannot be laid by the heels,
What e'er the other moiety feels.
'Tis not restraint, or liberty,*
That makes men prisoners or free;
But perturbations that possess
The mind, or equanimities.
The whole world was not half so wide
To Alexander, whén he cry'd,
Because he had but one to subdue,†
As was a paltry narrow tub to
Diogenes; who is not said,‡
For aught that ever I could read,
To whine, put finger i' th' eye, and sob,
Because h' had ne'er another tub.
The ancients make two sev'ral kinds
Of prowess in heroic minds,
The active and the passive valiant,
Both which are pari libra gallant;
For both to give blows, and to carry,
In fights are equi-necessary:
But in defeats, the passive stout
Are always found to stand it out
Most desp'rately, and to out-do
The active, 'gainst a conqu'ring foe:
Tho' we with blacks and blues are suggil'd,§
Or, as the vulgar say, are cudgel'd;

* Quisnam igitur liber? sapiens, sibique imperiosus;
Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent:
Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
Fortis; et in seipso totus teres atque rotundus,
Externi ne quid valeat per læve morari;
In quem manca ruit semper fortuna.
Horat. lib. ii. Sat. vii. 83.

Κακὸς δεσμὸς, σώματος μὲν τύχη, ψυχῆς δὲ κακία· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα λελυμένος, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν δεδεμένος, δοῦλος· ὁ δ' αὖ τὸ σῶμα δεδεμένος, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν λελυμένος, ἐλεύθερος.
Epict. p. 94. ed. Relandi. 1711.

† Unus Pellæo juveni non sufficit orbis:
Æstuat infelix angusto limite mundi.
Juven. Sat. x. 168.

‡ —— Dolia nudi
Non ardent Cynici: si fregeris, altera fiet
Cras domus, aut eadem plumbo commissa manebit.
Sensit Alexander, testa cum vidit in illa
Magnum habitatorem, quanto felicior hic, qui
Nil cuperet, quam qui totum sibi posceret, orbem,
Passurus gestis æquanda pericula rebus.
Juven. Sat. xiv. 308.

§ From suggillo, to beat black and blue.

He that is valiant, and dares fight,
Though drubb'd, can lose no honour by't.
Honour's a lease for lives to come,
And cannot be extended from
The legal tenant:* 'tis a chattel
Not to be forfeited in battel.†
If he that in the field is slain,
Be in the bed of honour lain,‡
He that is beaten may be said
To lie in honour's truckle-bed.§
For as we see th' eclipsed sun
By mortals is more gaz'd upon
Than when, adorn'd with all his light.
He shines in serene sky most bright;
So valour, in a low estate,
Is most admir'd and wonder'd at.
Quoth Ralph, How great I do not know
We may, by being beaten, grow;
But none that see how here we sit,
Will judge us overgrown with wit.
As gifted brethren, preaching by
A carnal hour-glass,‖ do imply
Illumination, can convey
Into them what they have to say,
But not how much; so well enough
Know you to charge, but not draw off.
For who, without a cap and bauble,¶
Having subdu'd a bear and rabble,
And might with honour have come off,
Would put it to a second proof:
A politic exploit, right fit
For Presbyterian zeal and wit.**

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* Vivit post funera virtus.

† A man cannot be deprived of his honor, or forfeit it to the conqueror, as he does his arms and accoutrements.

‡ "The bed of honor," says Farquhar, "is a mighty large "bed. Ten thousand people may lie in it together, and never "feel one another."

§ The truckle-bed is a small bed upon wheels, which goes under the larger one,

‖ This preaching by the hour gave room for many jokes. A punning preacher, having talked a full hour, turned his hour-glass, and said: Come, my friends, let us take the other glass. The frames for these hour-glasses remained in many churches till very lately.

¶ Who but a fool or child, one who deserves a fool's cap, or a child's play-thing.

** Ralpho, being chagrined by his situation, not only blames the misconduct of the knight, which had brought them into the scrape, but sneers at him for his religious principles. The Indo-

Quoth Hudibras, That cuckoo's tone,
Ralpho thou always harp'st upon;
When thou at any thing would'st rail,
Thou mak'st presbytery thy scale
To take the height on't, and explain
To what degree it is profane.
What s'ever will not with thy—what d'ye call
Thy light—jump right, thou call'st synodical.
As if presbytery were a standard
To size what s'ever's to be slander'd.
Dost not remember how this day
Thou to my beard wast bold to say,
That thou could'st prove bear-baiting equal
With synods, orthodox and legal?
Do, if thou canst, for I deny't,
And dare thee to't, with all thy light.*
Quoth Ralpho, Truly that is no
Hard matter for a man to do,
That has but any guts in's brains,†
And could believe it worth his pains;
But since you dare and urge me to it,
You'll find I've light enough to do it.
Synods are mystical bear-gardens,
Where elders, deputies, church-wardens,
And other members of the court,
Manage the Babylonish sport.
For prolocutor, scribe, and bearward,
Do differ only in a mere word.
Both are but sev'ral synagogues
Of carnal men, and bears, and dogs:
Both antichristian assemblies,
To mischief bent, as far's in them lies:
Both stave and tail with fierce contests,
The one with men, the other beasts,
The diff'rence is, the one fights with
The tongue, the other with the teeth;
And that they bait but bears in this,
In th' other souls and consciences;
Where saints themselves are brought to stake,‡

---

pendents, at one time, were as inveterate against the Presbyterians, as both of them were against the church. For an explanation of some following verses, see the note on Canto i. 457.

* The Independents were great pretenders to the light of the spirit. They supposed that all their actions, as well as their prayers and preachings, were immediately directed by it.

† A proverbial expression for one who has some share of common sense.

‡ The Presbyterians, when in power, by means of their synods

For gospel-light and conscience-sake;
Expos'd to scribes and presbyters,
Instead of mastiff dogs and curs;
Than whom th' have less humanity,
For these at souls of men will fly.
This to the prophet did appear,
Who in a vision saw a bear,
Prefiguring the beastly rage
Of church-rule, in this latter age:*
As is demonstrated at full
By him that baited the pope's bull.†
Bears naturally are beasts of prey,
That live by rapine; so do they.
What are their orders, constitutions,
Church-censures, curses, absolutions,
But sev'ral mystic chains they make,
To tie poor Christians to the stake?
And then set heathen officers,
Instead of dogs, about their ears.‡
For to prohibit and dispense,
To find out, or to make offence;
Of hell and heaven to dispose,
To play with souls at fast and loose:
To set what characters they please,
And mulcts on sin or godliness;
Reduce the church to gospel-order,
By rapine, sacrilege, and murder;
To make presbytery supreme,
And kings themselves submit to them;§

---

assemblies, classes, scribes, presbyters, triers, orders, censures, curses, &c., &c., persecuted the ministers, both of the Independents and of the Church of England, with violence and cruelty little short of the inquisition. Sir Roger L'Estrange mentions some strong instances of their persecuting tenets.

* Daniel vii. 5. "And behold another beast, a second, like to a bear; and it raised up itself on one side; and it had three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh."

† The baiting of the pope's bull was the title of a pamphlet written by Henry Burton, rector of St. Matthew, Friday-street, and printed at London in 1627.

‡ Tacitus says of the persecutions under Nero, pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti, laniatu canum interirent. Annal. xv. 44.

§ The disciplinarians, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, maintained that kings ought to be subject to ecclesiastical censures, as well as other persons. This doctrine was revived by the Presbyterians afterwards, and actually put in practice by the Scots, in their treatment of Charles II. while he continued among them. The Presbyterians, in the civil war, maintained

And force all people, tho' against
Their consciences, to turn saints;
Must prove a pretty thriving trade,
When saints monopolists are made:
When pious frauds, and holy shifts,
Are dispensations, and gifts;
There godliness becomes mere ware,
And ev'ry synod but a fair.
Synods are whelps o' th' Inquisition,
A mungrel breed of like pernicion,*
And growing up, became the sires
Of scribes, commissioners, and triers;†
Whose bus'ness is, by cunning slight,
To cast a figure for men's light;
To find, in lines of beard and face,
The physiognomy of grace;‡
And by the sound and twang of nose,
If all be sound within disclose,
Free from a crack, or flaw of sinning,
As men try pipkins by the ringing;§

that princes must submit their sceptres, and throw down their crowns before the church, yea, to lick up the dust of the feet of the church.

* The word pernicion, perhaps, is coined by our author: he means of like destructive effect, from the Latin pernicies, though it is used elsewhere.

† The Presbyterians had a set of officers called the triers, who examined the candidates for orders, and the presentees to benefices, and sifted the qualifications of lay elders. See the preface to Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy. As the Presbyterians demanded of the Church of England, What command, or example, have you for kneeling at the communion, for wearing a surplice, for lord bishops, for a penned liturgy, &c., &c., so the Independents retorted upon them: Where are your lay elders, your presbyters, your classes, your synods, to be found in Scripture? where your steeple houses, and your national church, or your tithes, or your metre psalms, or your two sacraments? show us a command or example for them. Dr. Hammond's View of the Directory.

‡ The triers pretended great skill in these matters. If they disliked the face or beard of a man, if he happened to be of a ruddy complexion, or cheerful countenance, they would reject him on these accounts. The precise and puritanical faces of those days may be observed in the prints of the most eminent dissenters.

The modern reader may be inclined to think the dispute between the knight and the squire rather too long. But if he considers that the great object of the poem was to expose to scorn and contempt those sectaries, and those pretenders to extraordinary sanctity, who had overturned the constitution in church and state; and, beside that, such enthusiasts were then frequently to be met with; he will not wonder that the author indulges himself in this fine strain of wit and humor.

§ They judged of man's inward grace by his outward com

By black caps, underlaid with white,*
Give certain guess at inward light;
Which serjeants at the gospel wear,†
To make the sp'ritual calling clear.
The handkerchief about the neck,
—Canonical cravat of smeck,‡
From whom the institution came,
When church and state they set on flame,
And worn by them as badges then
Of spiritual warfaring-men,—
Judge rightly if regeneration
Be of the newest cutin fashion:

---

plexion. Dr. Echard says, "If a man had but a little blood in "his cheeks, his condition was accounted very dangerous, and "it was almost an infallible sign of reprobation: and I will as- "sure you," says he, "a very honest man, of a very sanguine "complexion, if he chance to come by an officious zealot's "house, might be put in the stocks only for looking fresh in a "frosty morning."

—— pulsa, dignoscere cautus
Quid solidum crepet, et pictæ tectoria linguæ.
Persius, Sat. v. 24.

Many persons, particularly the Dissenters, in our poet's time, were fond of wearing black caps lined with white. See the print of Baxter and others. These caps, however, were not peculiar to the Protestant sectaries, nor always of a black color; master Drurie, a jesuit, who, with a hundred of his auditors, lost his life, October 26, 1623, by the sinking of the garret floor where he was preaching, is thus described: "When he had "read (his text) he sat down in the chaire, and put upon his "head a red quilt cap, having a linnen white one under it, turned "up about the brims, and so undertooke his text."—The doleful Evensong, by Thomas Good, 4to. This continued a fashion for many years after.

† The coif, or black worn on the head, is the badge of a serjeant at law.

‡ A club or junto, which wrote several books against the king, consisting of five eminent holders forth, namely: Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen and William Spurstow; the initials of their names make the word Smectymnuus: and, by way of distinction, they wore handkerchiefs about their necks, which afterwards degenerated into carnal cravats. Hall, bishop of Exeter, presented an humble remonstrance to the high court of parliament, in behalf of liturgy and episcopacy; which was answered by the junto under this title, The Original of Liturgy and Episcopacy discussed by SMECTYMNUUS; John Milton is supposed to have been concerned in writing it.—For an account of Thomas Young, see Warton's notes on Milton.—The five counsellors of Charles II. in the year 1670, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale, were called the Cabal, from the initials of their names.—Mr. Mark Noble, in his Memoirs of the Cromwell Family, says, "When "Oliver resided at St. Ives, he usually went to church with a "piece of red flannel about his neck, as he was subject to an in- "flammation in his throat," p. 105, note.

Sure 'tis an orthodox opinion,
That grace is founded in dominion.*
Great piety consists in pride ;
To rule is to be sanctify'd :
To domineer, and to controul,
Both o'er the body and the soul,
Is the most perfect discipline
Of church-rule, and by right divine.
Bell and the Dragon's chaplains were
More moderate than those by far :†
For they, poor knaves, were glad to cheat,
To get their wives and children meat ;
But these will not be fobb'd off so,
They must have wealth and power too ;
Or else, with blood and desolation,
They'll tear it out o' th' heart o' th' nation.
Sure these themselves from primitive
And heathen priesthood do derive,
When butchers were the only clerks,‡
Elders and presbyters of kirks ;
Whose directory was to kill ;
And some believe it is so still.§
The only diff'rence is, that then
They slaughter'd only beasts, now men.
For them to sacrifice a bullock,
Or, now and then, a child to Moloch,
They count a vile abomination,
But not to slaughter a whole nation.
Presbytery does but translate
The papacy to a free state,
A common-wealth of popery,
Where ev'ry village is a see
As well as Rome, and must maintain
A tithe-pig metropolitan ;
Where ev'ry presbyter, and deacon,
Commands the keys for cheese and bacon ;‖

* The Presbyterians had such an esteem for power, that they thought those who obtained it showed a mark of grace ; and that those only who had grace were entitled to power.

† The priests, their wives, and children, feasted upon the provisions offered to the idol, and pretended that he had devoured them. See the Apocrypha.

‡ Both in the heathen and Jewish sacrifices, the animal was frequently slain by the priests.

§ A banter on the directory, or form of service drawn up by the Presbyterians, and substituted for the common prayer.

‖ Daniel Burgess, dining with a gentlewoman of his congregation, and a large uncut Cheshire cheese being brought to table, he asked where he should cut it. She replied, Where you

And ev'ry hamlet's governed
By's holiness, the church's head,*
More haughty and severe in's place
Than Gregory and Boniface.†
Such church must, surely, be a monster
With many heads: for if we conster
What in th' Apocalypse we find,
According to th' Apostles' mind,
'Tis that the Whore of Babylon,
With many heads did ride upon ;‡
Which heads denote the sinful tribe
Of deacon, priest, lay-elder, scribe.
Lay-elder, Simeon to Levi,§

---

pease, Mr. Burgess. Upon which he ordered his servant to carry it to his own house, for he would cut it at home.

* The gentlemen of Cheshire sent a remonstrance to the parliament, wherein they complained, that, instead of having twenty-six bishops, they were then governed by a numerous presbytery, amounting, with lay elders and others, to 40,000. This government, say they, is purely papal, for every minister exercises papal jurisdiction. Dr. Grey quotes from Sir John Birkenhead reviled:

But never look for health nor peace
If once presbytery jade us,
When every priest becomes a pope,
When tinkers and sow-gelders,
May, if they can but 'scape the rope,
Be princes and lay-elders.

† The former was consecrated in the year 1073, the latter elected in 1294. Two most insolent and assuming popes, who wanted to raise the tiara above all the crowned heads in Christendom. Gregory the Seventh, commonly called Hildebrand, was the first who arrogated to himself the authority to excommunicate and depose the emperor. Boniface the Third, was he who assumed the title of universal bishop. Boniface the Eighth, at the jubilee instituted by himself, appeared one day in the habit of a pope, and the next day in that of an emperor. He caused two swords to be carried before him, to show that he was invested with all power ecclesiastical and temporal.

‡ The church of Rome has often been compared to the whore of Babylon, mentioned in the seventeenth chapter of the Revelation. The beast, which the whore rode upon, is here said to signify the Presbyterian establishment; and the seven, or many heads of the beast, are interpreted, by the poet, to mean their several officers, deacons, priests, scribes, lay-elders, &c.

§ That is, lay-elder, an associate to the priesthood, for interested, if not for iniquitous purposes; alluding to Genesis xlix. 5, 6. "Simeon and Levi are brethren; instruments of cruelty "are in their habitations: O, my soul, come not thou into their "secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united: "for in their anger they slew a man." Mr. Robert Gordon, in his History of the illustrious family of Gordon, vol. ii. p. 197, compares the solemn league and covenant with the holy league in France: he says they were as like as one egg to another, the one was nursed by the Jesuits, the other by the Scots Presbyte-

Whose little finger is as heavy
As loins of patriarchs, prince-prelate,
And bishop-secular.* This zealot
Is of a mungrel, diverse kind,
Cleric before, and lay behind;†
A lawless linsey-woolsey brother,‡
Half of one order, half another;
A creature of amphibious nature,
On land a beast, a fish in water;
That always preys on grace, or sin;
A sheep without, a wolf within.
This fierce inquisitor has chief
Dominion over men's belief
And manners; can pronounce a saint
Idolatrous, or ignorant,
When superciliously he sifts,
Through coarsest boulter, others gifts.§
For all men live, and judge amiss,
Whose talents jump not just with his.
He'll lay on gifts with hand, and place
On dullest noddle light and grace,
The manufacture of the kirk,
Whose pastors are but th' handiwork
Of his mechanic paws, instilling
Divinity in them by feeling.
From whence they start up chosen vessels,
Made by contact, as men get measles.
So cardinals, they say, do grope
At th' other end the new made pope.‖
Hold, hold, quoth Hudibras, Soft fire,
They say, does make sweet malt. Good Squire,
Festina lente, not too fast;

rians, Simeon and Levi. See Doughtie's Velitationes Polemicæ, p. 74.

* Such is the bishop and prince of Liege, and such are several of the bishops in Germany. [1793.]

† A trifling book called a Key to Hudibras, under the name of Sir Roger L'Estrange, pretends to decipher all the characters in the poem, and tells us that one Andrew Crawford was here intended. This character is supposed by others to have been designed for William Dunning, a Scotch presbyter. But, probably, the author meant no more than to give a general representation of the lay-elders.

‡ Lawless, because it was forbidden by the Levitical law to wear a mixture of linen and woollen in the same garment.

§ A bolter is a sieve by which the millers dress their flour.

‖ See, in Platina's Lives of the Popes, the well-known story of pope Joan, or John VIII. The stercorary chair, as appears by Burchard's Diary, was used at the installations of Innocent VIII. and Sixtus IV. See Brequigny in account of MS. in the French king's library, 8vo. 1789, vol. i. p. 210.

For haste, the proverb says, makes waste.
The quirks and cavils thou dost make
Are false, and built upon mistake:
And I shall bring you, with your pack
Of fallacies, t' Elenchi back;*
And put your arguments in mood
And figure to be understood.
I'll force you by right ratiocination†
To leave your vitilitigation,‡
And make you keep to the question close,
And argue dialecticõs.§
The question then, to state it first,
Is, which is better, or which worst,
Synods or bears. Bears I avow
To be the worst, and synods thou.
But, to make good th' assertion,
Thou say'st th' are really all one,
If so, not worst; for if th' are idem,
Why then, tantundem dat tantidem.
For if they are the same, by course
Neither is better, neither worse.
But I deny they are the same,
More than a maggot and I am.
That both are animalia,‖
I grant, but not rationalia:
For though they do agree in kind,
Specific difference we find;¶

* Elenchi are arguments which deceive under an appearance of truth. The knight says he shall make the deception apparent. The name is given, by Aristotle, to those syllogisms which have seemingly a fair, but in reality a contradictory conclusion. A chief design of Aristotle's logic is to establish rules for the trial of arguments, and to guard against sophism: for in his time Zeno, Parmenides, and others, had set up a false method of reasoning, which he makes it his business to detect and defeat.

† The poet makes *tio*, in ratiocination, constitute but one syllable, as in verse 1378, but in P. i. c. i. v. 78, he makes *tio* two syllables.

‡ That is, your perverse humor of wrangling. Erasmus, in the Moriæ encomium, has the following passage: "Etenim non dee-"erunt fortasse vitilitigatores, qui calumnientur partim leviores "esse nugas quam ut theologum deceant, partim mordaciores "quam ut Christianæ conveniant modestiæ." Vitilitigatores, i. e. obtrectatores et calumniatores, quos Cato, novato verbo, a vitio et morbo litigandi vitilitigatores appellabat, ut testatur Plin. in præfat. historiæ mundi.

§ That is, logically.

‖ Suppose we read:

That both *indeed* are animalia.

¶ Between animate and inanimate things, as between a man

And can no more make bears of these,
Than prove my horse is Socrates.*
That synods are bear-gardens too,
Thou dost affirm; but I say, No:
And thus I prove it, in a word,
What s'ever assembly's not impow'r'd
To censure, curse, absolve, and ordain,
Can be no synod: but Bear-garden
Has no such pow'r, ergo 'tis none;
And so thy sophistry's o'erthrown.
But yet we are beside the question
Which thou didst raise the first contest on:
For that was, Whether bears are better
Than synod-men? I say, Negatur.
That bears are beasts, and synods men,
Is held by all: they're better then,
For bears and dogs on four legs go,
As beasts; but synod-men on two.
'Tis true, they all have teeth and nails;
But prove that synod-men have tails:
Or that a rugged, shaggy fur
Grows o'er the hide of presbyter;
Or that his snout and spacious ears
Do hold proportion with a bear's.
A bear's a savage beast, of all
Most ugly and unnatural,
Whelp'd without form, until the dam
Has lickt it into shape and frame:†
But all thy light can ne'er evict,

---

and a tree, there is a generical difference; that is, they are not of the same kind or genus. Between rational and sensitive creatures, as a man and a bear, there is a specifical difference; for though they agree in the genus of animals, or living creatures, yet they differ in the species as to reason. Between two men, Plato and Socrates, there is a numerical difference; for, though they are of the same species as rational creatures, yet they are not one and the same, but two men. See Part ii. Canto i. l. 150

* Or that my horse is a man. Aristotle, in his disputations, uses the word Socrates as an appellative for man in general From thence it was taken up in the schools.

† We must not expect our poet's philosophy to be strictly true: it is sufficient that it agree with the notions commonly handed down. Thus Ovid:

> Nec catulus partu, quem reddidit ursa recenti,
> Sed male viva caro est. Lambendo mater in artus
> Fingit; et in formam, quantum capit ipsa, reducit.
> Metam. xv. 379.

Pliny, in his Natural History, lib. viii. c. 54, says: "Hi sunt candida informisque caro, paulo muribus major, sine oculis sine pilo: ungues tantum prominent: hanc lambendo paula

That ever synod-man was lickt,
Or brought to any other fashion
Than his own will and inclination.
But thou dost further yet in this
Oppugn thyself and sense; that is,
Thou would'st have presbyters to go
For bears and dogs, and bearwards too;
A strange chimæra* of beasts and men,
Made up of pieces het'rogene;
Such as in nature never met,
In eodem subjecto yet.
Thy other arguments are all
Supposures hypothetical,
That do but beg; and we may chuse
Either to grant them, or refuse.
Much thou hast said, which I know when,
And where thou stol'st from other men;
Whereby 'tis plain thy light and gifts
Are all but plagiary shifts;
And is the same that Ranter said,
Who, arguing with me, broke my head,†
And tore a handful of my beard;
The self-same cavils then I heard,
When b'ing in hot dispute about
This controversy, we fell out;
And what thou know'st I answer'd then
Will serve to answer thee agen.
Quoth Ralpho, Nothing but th' abuse
Of human learning you produce;
Learning, that cobweb of the brain,
Profane, erroneous, and vain;‡

"vim figurant." But this silly opinion is refuted by Brown in his Vulgar Errors, book iii. ch. 6.

* Chimæra was a fabulous monster, thus described by Homer:

——— ἡ ὀ' ἄρ' ἦην θεῖον γένος, οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων
Πρόσθε λέων, ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δέ χίμαιρα.
Iliad. vi. 180.

Eustathius, on the passage, has abundance of Greek learning Hesiod has given the chimæra three heads. Theog. 319.

† The ranters were a wild sect, that denied all doctrines of religion, natural and revealed. With one of these the knight had entered into a dispute, and at last came to blows. See a ranter's character in Butler's Posthumous Works. Whitelocke says, the soldiers in the parliament army were frequently punished for being *ranters*. Nero clothed Christians in the skins of wild beasts; but these wrapped wild beasts in the skins of Christians.

‡ Dr. South, in his sermon preached in Westminster Abbey, 1692, says, speaking of the times about 50 years before, Latin unto them was a mortal crime, and Greek looked upon as a sin

A trade of knowledge as replete,
As others are with fraud and cheat;

---

against the Holy Ghost; that all learning was then cried down, so that with them the best preachers were such as could not read, and the ablest divines such as could not write: in all their preachments they so highly pretended to the spirit, that they hardly could spell the letter. To be blind, was with them the proper qualification of a spiritual guide, and to be book-learned, (as they called it,) and to be irreligious, were almost terms convertible. None were thought fit for the ministry but tradesmen and mechanics, because none else were allowed to have the spirit. Those only were accounted like St. Paul who could work with their hands, and, in a literal sense, drive the nail home, and be able to make a pulpit before they preached in it.

The Independents and Anabaptists were great enemies to all human learning: they thought that preaching, and every thing else, was to come by inspiration.

When Jack Cade ordered lord Say's head to be struck off, he said to him: "I am the besom that must sweep the court clean "of such filth as thou art. Thou hast most traiterously corrupt- "ed the youth of the realm, in erecting a grammar-school; and "whereas, before, our forefathers had no other books, but the "score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used; and, "contrary to the king, his crown and dignity, thou hast built a "paper-mill. It will be proved to thy face, that thou hast men "about thee, that usually talk of a noun and a verb; and such "abominable words as no Christian ear can endure to hear." Henry VI. Part II. Act iv. sc. 7. In Mr. Butler's MS. I find the following reflections on this subject:

"The modern doctrine of the court, that men's natural parts are rather impaired than improved by study and learning, is ridiculously false; and the design of it as plain as its ignorant nonsense—no more than what the levellers and Quakers found out before them: that is, to bring down all other men, whom they have no possibility of coming near any other way, to an equality with themselves; that no man may be thought to receive any advantage by that which they, with all their confidence, dare not pretend to.

"It is true that some learned men, by their want of judgment and discretion, will sometimes do and say things that appear ridiculous to those who are entirely ignorant: but he, who from hence takes measure of all others, is most indiscreet. For no one can make another man's want of reason a just cause for not improving his own, but he who would have been as little the better for it, if he had taken the same pains.

"He is a fool that has nothing of philosophy in him; but not so much so as he who has nothing else but philosophy.

"He that has less learning than his capacity is able to manage, shall have more use of it than he that has more than he can master; for no man can possibly have a ready and active command of that which is too heavy for him, Qui ultra facultates sapit, desipit. Sense and reason are too chargeable for the ordinary occasions of scholars, and what they are not able to go to the expense of: therefore metaphysics are better for their purposes, as being cheap, which any dunce may bear the expense of, and which make a better noise in the ears of the ignorant than that which is true and right. Non qui plurima, sed qui utilia legerunt, eruditi habendi.

"A blind man knows he cannot see, and is glad to be led,

An art t' incumber gifts and wit,
And render both for nothing fit;

---

though it be but by a dog; but he that is blind in his understanding, which is the worst blindness of all, believes he sees as well as the best; and scorns a guide.

"Men glory in that which is their infelicity.—Learning Greek and Latin, to understand the sciences contained in them, which commonly proves no better bargain than he makes, who breaks his teeth to crack a nut, which has nothing but a maggot in it. He that hath many languages to express his thoughts, but no thoughts worth expressing, is like one who can write a good hand, but never the better sense; or one who can cast up any sums of money, but has none to reckon.

"They who study mathematics only to fix their minds, and render them steadier to apply to other things, as there are many who profess to do, are as wise as those who think, by rowing in boats, to learn to swim.

"He that has made an hasty march through most arts and sciences, is like an ill captain, who leaves garrisons and strongholds behind him."

"The arts and sciences are only tools,
Which students do their business with in schools:
Although great men have said, 'tis more abstruse,
And hard to understand them, than their use.
And though they were intended but in order
To better things, few ever venture further.
But as all good designs are so accurst,
The best intended often prove the worst;
So what was meant t' improve the world, quite cross,
Has turn'd to its calamity and loss.

"The greatest part of learning's only meant
For curiosity and ornament.
And therefore most pretending virtuosos,
Like Indians, bore their lips and flat their noses.
When 'tis their artificial want of wit,
That spoils their work, instead of mending it.
To prove by syllogism is but to spell,
A proposition like a syllable.

"Critics esteem no sciences so noble,
As worn-out languages, to vamp and cobble
And when they had corrected all old copies,
To cut themselves out work, made new and foppish,
Assum'd an arbitrary power t' invent
And overdo what th' author never meant.
Could find a deeper, subtler meaning out,
Than th' innocentest writer ever thought.

"Good scholars are but journeymen to nature,
That shows them all their tricks to imitate her:
Though some mistake the reason she proposes,
And make them imitate their virtuosos.
And arts and sciences are but a kind
Of trade and occupation of the mind:
An exercise by which mankind is taught
The discipline and management of thought
To best advantages; and takes its lesson
From nature, or her secretary reason,—
Is both the best, or worst way of instructing,

Makes light unactive, dull and troubled,
Like little David in Saul's doublet ;*
A cheat that scholars put upon
Other men's reason and their own ;
A sort of error to ensconce
Absurdity and ignorance,
That renders all the avenues
To truth impervious, and abstruse,
By making plain things, in debate,
By art perplex'd and intricate :
For nothing goes for sense or light
That will not with old rules jump righ ,
As if rules were not in the schools
Deriv'd from truth but truth from rules.†
This pagan, heathenish invention
Is good for nothing but contention.
For as in sword-and-buckler fight,
All blows do on the target light ;
So when men argue, the great'st part
O' th' contest falls on terms of art,
Until the fustian stuff be spent,
And then they fall to th' argument.
Quoth Hudibras, Friend Ralph, thou hast
Out-run the constable at last ;
For thou art fallen on a new
Dispute, as senseless as untrue,
But to the former opposite,
And contrary as black to white ;
Mere disparata,‡ that concerning
Presbytery, this human learning ;

As men mistake or understand her doctrine :
That as it happens proves the legerdemain,
Or practical dexterity of the brain :
And renders all that have to do with books,
The fairest gamesters, or the falsest rooks.
For there's a wide and a vast difference,
Between a man's own, and another's sense ;
As is of those that drive a trade upon
Other men's reputation and their own.
And as more cheats are used in public stocks,
So those that trade upon account of books,
Are greater rooks than he who singly deals
Upon his own account and nothing steals."

* See 1 Samuel xvii. 38.

† Bishop Warburton in a note on these lines, says : "This ob 'servation is just, the logicians have run into strange absurdi- "ties of this kind : Peter Ramus, the best of them, in his Logic, "rejects a very just argument of Cicero's as sophistical, because "it did not jump right with his rules."

‡ Things totally different from each other.

Two things s' averse, they never yet,
But in thy rambling fancy, met.
But I shall take a fit occasion
T' evince thee by ratiocination,
Some other time, in place more proper
Than this w' are in: therefore let's stop here,
And rest our weary'd bones awhile,
Already tir'd with other toil.

PART II. CANTO I.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Knight clapp'd by th' heels in prison,
The last unhappy expedition,*
Love brings his action on the case,†
And lays it upon Hudibras.
How he receives the lady's visit,
And cunningly solicits his suit,
Which she defers; yet, on parole,
Redeems him from th' enchanted hole.

---

* In the author's corrected copy, printed 1674, the lines stand thus; but in the edition printed ten years before, we read:

The knight, by damnable magician,
Being cast illegally in prison.

In the edition of 1704 the old reading was restored, but we have in general used the author's corrected copy.

† We may observe how justly Mr. Butler, who was an able lawyer, applies all law terms.—An action on the case, is a general action given for redress of wrongs and injuries, done without force, and by law not provided against, in order to have satisfaction for damages. The author informs us, in his own note, at the beginning of this canto, that he had the fourth Æneis of Virgil in view, which passes from the tumults of war and the fatigues of a dangerous voyage, to the tender subject of love. The French translator has divided the poem into nine cantos, and not into parts: but, as the poet published his work at three different times, and in his corrected copy continued the division into parts, it is taking too great a liberty for any commentator to alter that arrangement; especially as he might do it, as before observed, in imitation of Spenser, and the Italian and Spanish poets, Tasso, Ariosto, Alonso de Ercilla, &c. &c.

HUDIBRAS.

CANTO I.

But now, t' observe romantique method,
Let rusty steel awhile be sheathed;
And all those harsh and rugged sounds*
Of bastinadoes, cuts, and wounds,
Exchang'd to love's more gentle style,
To let our reader breathe awhile:
In which, that we may be as brief as
Is possible, by way of preface.
  Is't not enough to make one strange,†
That some men's fancies should ne'er change,
But make all people do and say
The same things still the self-same way?‡
Some writers make all ladies purloin'd,
And knights pursuing like a whirlwind:
Others make all their knights, in fits
Of jealousy, to lose their wits;
Till drawing blood o' th' dames, like witches,
They're forthwith cur'd of their capriches.§
Some always thrive in their amours,
By pulling plasters off their sores;‖

* Shakspeare says,

"Our stern alarums chang'd to merry meetings,
"Our dreadful marches to delightful measures."
Richard III. Act i. sc. 1.

† That is, to make one wonder: *strange*, here, is an adjective; when a man sees a new or unexpected object, he is said to be strange to it.

‡ Few men have genius enough to vary their style; both poets and painters are very apt to be mannerists.

§ It was a vulgar notion that, if you drew blood from a witch, she could not hurt you. Thus Cleveland, in his Rebel Scot:

Scots are like witches; do but whet your pen,
Scratch till the blood comes, they'll not hurt you then.

‖ By shewing their wounds to the ladies—[who, it must be remembered, in the times of chivalry, were instructed in surgery and the healing art. In the romance of Perceforest a young lady puts in the dislocated arm of a knight.]

As cripples do to get an alms,
Just so do they, and win their dames.
Some force whole regions, in despite
O' geography, to change their site;
Make former times shake hands with latter,
And that which was before come after;*
But those that write in rhyme still make
The one verse for the other's sake;
For one for sense, and one for rhyme,
I think's sufficient at one time.
But we forget in what sad plight
We whilom left the captiv'd Knight
And pensive Squire, both bruis'd in body,
And conjur'd into safe custody.
Tir'd with dispute, and speaking Latin,
As well as basting and bear-baiting,
And desperate of any course,
To free himself by wit or force,
His only solace was, that now
His dog-bolt fortune was so low,
That either it must quickly end,
Or turn about again, and mend:†
In which he found th' event, no less
Than other times, beside his guess.

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* These were common faults with romance writers: even Shakspeare and Virgil have not wholly avoided them. The former transports his characters, in a quarter of an hour, from France to England: the latter has formed an intrigue between Dido and Æneas, who probably lived in very distant periods. The Spanish writers are complained of for these errors. Don Quixote, vol. ii. ch. 21.

† It was a maxim among the Stoic philosophers, many of whose tenets seem to be adopted by our knight, that things which were violent could not be lasting. Si longa est, levis est; si gravis est, brevis est. The term dog-bolt, may be taken from the situation of a rabbit, or other animal, that is forced from its hole by a dog, and then said to bolt. Unless it ought to have been written dolg-bote, which in the Saxon law signifies a recompense for a hurt or injury.—Cyclopædia. In English, dog, in composition, like δὸς in Greek, implies that the thing denoted by the noun annexed to it, is vile, bad, savage, or unfortunate in its kind: thus dog-rose, dog-latin, dog-trick, dog-cheap, and many others. [Archdeacon Nares considers *dog-bolt* evidently as a term of reproach, and gives quotations from Johnson to that effect, and adds, that no compound of *dog* and *bolt*, in any sense, appears to afford an interpretation of it. The happiest illustration of the text is afforded by Archdeacon Todd from Beaumont and Fletcher's Spanish Curate:

"For to say truth, the lawyer is a *dogbolt*,
"An arrant worm."]

There is a tall long-sided dame,*
But wond'rous light—ycleped Fame,
That like a thin camelion boards
Herself on air,† and eats her words ;‡
Upon her shoulders wings she wears
Like hanging sleeves, lin'd thro' with ears,
And eyes, and tongues, as poets list,
Made good by deep mythologist :
With these she through the welkin flies,§
And sometimes carries truth, oft' lies ;
With letters hung, like eastern pigeons,‖
And Mercuries of furthest regions ;

---

* Our author has evidently followed Virgil (Æneid. iv.) in some parts of this description of Fame. Thus :

Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila condit.
——— malum qua non aliud velocius ullum :
Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo.
——— pedibus celerem et pernicibus alis.
——— cui, quot sunt corpore plumæ,
Tot vigiles oculi subter, mirabile dictu,
Tot linguæ, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigetaures.
Tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri.

† The vulgar notion is, that camelions live on air ; but they are known to feed on flies, caterpillars, and other insects.

‡ Mr. Warburton has an ingenious note on this passage. "The "beauty of it," he says, "consists in the double meaning : the "first alluding to Fame's living on report ; the second, an insin- "uation that, if a report is narrowly inquired into, and traced up "to the original author, it is made to contradict itself."

§ Welkin is derived from the Anglo-Saxon wolc, wolcn, clouds. [Lye gives as one meaning of wolc, aër, æther, firmamentum. *The welkin.*] It is used, in general, by the English poets, for we seldom meet with it in prose, to denote the sky or visible region of the air. But Chaucer seems to distinguish between sky and welkin :

He let a certaine winde ygo,
That blew so hideously and hie,
That it ne lefte not a skie, (cloud,)
In all the welkin long and brode.

‖ Every one has heard of the pigeons of Aleppo, which served as couriers. The birds were taken from their young ones, and conveyed to any distant place in open cages. If it was necessary to send home any intelligence, a pigeon was let loose, with a billet tied to her foot, and she flew back with the utmost expedition. They would return in ten hours from Alexandretto to Aleppo, and in two days from Bagdad. Savary says they have traversed the former in the space of five or six hours. This method was practised at Mutina, when besieged by Antony See Pliny's Natural History, lib. x. 37. Anacreon's Dove says, she was employed to carry love-letters for her master.

Καὶ νῦν οἵας ἐκείνε
Ἐπιστολὰς κομίζω.

Brunck. Analect. tom. I.

Diurnals writ for regulation
Of lying, to inform the nation,*
And by their public use to bring down
The rate of whetstones in the kingdom:† 60
About her neck a pacquet-male,‡
Fraught with advice, some fresh, some stale,
Of men that walk'd when they were dead,
And cows of monsters brought to bed:
Of hail-stones big as pullets' eggs, 65
And puppies whelp'd with twice two legs:§
A blazing star seen in the west,
By six or seven men at least.
Two trumpets she does sound at once,‖

---

* The newspapers of those times, called Mercuries and Diurnals, were not more authentic than similar publications are at present. Each party had its Mercuries: there was Mercurius Rusticus, and Mercurius Aulicus.

† The observations on the learning of Shakspeare will explain this passage. We there read: "A happy talent for lying, familiar "enough to those men of fire, who looked on every one graver "than themselves as their *whetstone*." This, you may remember, is a proverbial term, denoting an excitement to lying, or a subject that gave a man an opportunity of breaking a jest upon another.

—— fungar vice cotis. Hor. Ars Poet. l. 304.

Thus Shakspeare makes Celia reply to Rosalind upon the entry of the Clown: "Fortune hath sent this natural for our "whetstone; for always the dulness of the fool is the whetstone "of the wits." And Jonson, alluding to the same, in the character of Amorphus, says: "He will lye cheaper than any beggar, "and louder than any clock; for which he is right properly ac-"commodated to the whetstone, his page."—"This," says Mr. Warburton, "will explain a smart repartee of Sir Francis Bacon "before king James, to whom Sir Kenelm Digby was relating, "that he had seen the true philosopher's stone in the possession "of a hermit in Italy: when the king was very curious to know "what sort of a stone it was, and Sir Kenelm much puzzled in "describing it, Sir Francis Bacon said: 'Perhaps it was a whet-"'stone.'"

"To lie, for a whetstone, at Temple Sowerby, in Westmore-"land." See Sir J. Harington's Brief View, p. 179. Exmoor Courtship, p. 26, n.

[It is a custom in the north, when a man tells the greatest lie in the company, to reward him with a *whetstone;* which is called lying for the *whetstone*. Budworth's Fortnight's Ramble to the Lakes, chap. 6, 1792.]

‡ This is a good trait in the character of Fame: laden with reports, as a post-boy with letters in his male. The word male is derived from the Greek *μῆλον*, ovis; *μηλωτὴ*, pellis ovina; because made of leather, frequently sheep skin: hence the French word maille, now written in English, mail

§ To make this story wonderful as the rest, ought we not to read—thrice two, or twice four legs?

‖ In Pope's Temple of Fame, she has the trumpet of eternal praise, and the trumpet of slander. Chaucer makes Æolus an

But both of clean contrary tones;
But whether both with the same wind,
Or one before, and one behind,*
We know not, only this can tell,
The one sounds vilely, th' other well,
And therefore vulgar authors name
The one Good, th' other Evil Fame.
This tattling gossip† knew too well,
What mischief Hudibras befel;
And straight the spightful tidings bears,
Of all, to th' unkind widow's ears.‡
Democritus ne'er laugh'd so loud,§
To see bawds carted through the crowd,
Or funerals with stately pomp,
March slowly on in solemn dump,
As she laugh'd out, until her back,
As well as sides, was like to crack.
She vow'd she would go see the sight,
And visit the distressed Knight,
To do the office of a neighbour,
And be a gossip at his labour;
And from his wooden jail, the stocks,
To set at large his fetter-locks,
And by exchange, parole, or ransom,
To free him from th' enchanted mansion.
This b'ing resolv'd, she call'd for hood
And usher, implements abroad‖
Which ladies wear, beside a slender
Young waiting damsel to attend her.

---

attendant on Fame, and blow the clarion of laud and the clarion of slander, alternately, according to her directions: the latter is described as black and stinking.

* This Hudibrastick description is imitated, but very unequally, by Cotton, in his Travesty of the fourth book of Virgil.

† Gossip or god-sib is a Saxon word, signifying cognata ex parte dei, or godmother. It is now likewise become an appellation for any idle woman. Tattle, i. e. sine modo garrire.

‡ Protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban,
Incenditque animum dictis. Virg. Æn. iv. 196.

§ Perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat
Democritus——
Ridebat curas, nec non et gaudia vulgi,
Interdum et lacrymas. Juv. Sat. x. 34-51.

‖ Some have doubted whether the word *usher* denotes an attendant, or part of her dress, but from P. iii. c. iii l. 399, it is plain that it signifies the former.

Beside two more of her retinue,
To testify what pass'd between you.

All which appearing, on she went
To find the Knight in limbo pent.
And 'twas not long before she found
Him, and his stout Squire, in the pound;
Both coupled in enchanted tether,
By further leg behind together:
For as he set upon his rump,
His head, like one in doleful dump,
Between his knees, his hands apply'd
Unto his ears on either side,
And by him, in another hole,
Afflicted Ralpho, cheek by joul,*
She came upon him in his wooden
Magician's circle, on the sudden,
As spirits do t' a conjurer,
When in their dreadful shapes th' appear.
No sooner did the Knight perceive her,
But straight he fell into a fever,
Inflam'd all over with disgrace,
To be seen by her in such a place;
Which made him hang his head, and scowl,
And wink and goggle like an owl;
He felt his brains begin to swim,
When thus the Dame accosted him:
This place, quoth she, they say's enchanted,
And with delinquent spirits haunted;
That here are ty'd in chains, and scourg'd,
Until their guilty crimes be purg'd:
Look, there are two of them appear
Like persons I have seen somewhere:
Some have mistaken blocks and posts
For spectres, apparitions, ghosts,
With saucer-eyes and horns; and some
Have heard the devil beat a drum:†
But if our eyes are not false glasses,
That give a wrong account of faces,
That beard and I should be acquainted,
Before 'twas conjur'd and enchanted.
For though it be disfigur'd somewhat,
As if 't had lately been in combat,

* That is, cheek to cheek; sometimes pronounced jig by jole; but here properly written, and derived, from two Anglo-Saxon words, ceac, maxilla, and ciol, or ciole, guttur.

† The story of Mr. Mompesson's house being haunted by a drummer, made a great noise about the time our author wrote The narrative is in Mr. Glanvil's book of Witchcraft.

It did belong t' a worthy Knight,
Howe'er this goblin is come by't.
When Hudibras the Lady heard
To take kind notice of his beard,
And speak with such respect and honour,
Both of the beard and the beard's owner,*
He thought it best to set as good
A face upon it as he cou'd,
And thus he spoke: Lady, your bright
And radiant eyes are in the right;
The beard's th' identique beard you knew,
The same numerically true:
Nor is it worn by fiend or elf,
But its proprietor himself.
O heavens! quoth she, can that be true?
I do begin to fear 'tis you;
Not by your individual whiskers,
But by your dialect and discourse,
That never spoke to man or beast,
In notions vulgarly exprest:

* See the dignity of the beard maintained by Dr. Bulwer in his Artificial Changeling, p. 196. He says, shaving the chin is justly to be accounted a note of effeminacy, as appears by eunuchs, who produce not a beard, the sign of virility. Alexander and his officers did not shave their beards till they were effeminated by Persian luxury. It was late before barbers were in request at Rome: they first came from Sicily 454 years after the foundation of Rome. Varro tells us they were introduced by Ticinius Mena. Scipio Africanus was the first who shaved his face every day: the emperor Augustus used this practice. See Pliny's Nat. Hist. b. vii. c. 59. Diogenes seeing one with a smooth shaved chin, said to him, "Hast thou whereof to accuse "nature for making thee a man and not a woman?"—The Rhodians and Byzantines, contrary to the practice of modern Russians, persisted against their laws and edicts in shaving, and the use of the razor.—Ulmus de fine barbæ humanæ, is of opinion, that the beard seems not merely for ornament, or age, or sex, not for covering nor cleanliness, but to serve the office of the human soul. And that nature gave to mankind a beard, that it might remain as an index in the face of the masculine generative faculty.—Beard-haters are by Barclay clapped on board the ship of fools:

Laudis erat quandam barbatos esse parentes
Atque supercilium mento gestare pudico
Socratis exemplo, barbam nutrire solebant
Cultores sophiæ.

False hair was worn by the Roman ladies. Martial says:

Jurat capillos esse, quos emit, suos
Fabulla nunquid illa, Paulle, pejerat.

And again: Ovid. de Art. Amandi, iii. 165:

Fœmina procedit densissima crinibus emptis;
Proque suis alios efficit ære suos:
Nec pudor est emisse palam.——

But what malignant star, alas!
Has brought you both to this sad pass?
  Quoth he, The fortune of the war,
Which I am less afflicted for,
Than to be seen with beard and face
By you in such a homely case.
  Quoth she, Those need not be asham'd
For being honourably maim'd;
If he that is in battle conquer'd,
Have any title to his own beard,
Tho' yours be sorely lugg'd and torn,
It does your visage more adorn
Than if 'twere prun'd, and starch'd and lander'd,
And cut square by the Russian standard.*
A torn beard's like a tatter'd ensign,
That's bravest which there are most rents in.
That petticoat, about your shoulders,
Does not so well become a soldier's;
And I'm afraid they are worse handled,
Altho' i' th' rear, your beard the van led;†
And those uneasy bruises make
My heart for company to ake,
To see so worshipful a friend
I' th' pillory set, at the wrong end.
  Quoth Hudibras, This thing call'd pain,‡
Is, as the learned stoics maintain,
Not bad simpliciter, nor good,
But merely as 'tis understood.
Sense is deceitful, and may feign
As well in counterfeiting pain
As other gross phænomenas,
In which it oft' mistakes the case.
But since th' immortal intellect,
That's free from error and defect,

* The beaus in the reign of James I. and Charles I. spent as much time in dressing their beards, as modern beaus do in dressing their hair; and many of them kept a person to read to them while the operation was performing. It is well known what great difficulty the Czar Peter of Russia met with in obliging his subjects to cut off their beards.

† The van is the fron or fore part of an army, and commonly the post of danger and honor; the rear the hinder part. So that making a front in the rear must be retreating from the enemy. By this comical expression the lady signifies that he turned tail to them, by which means his shoulders sped worse than his beard.

‡ Some tenets of the stoic philosophers are here burlesqued with great humor

Whose objects still persist the same,
Is free from outward bruise or maim,
Which nought external can expose
To gross material bangs or blows,
It follows we can ne'er be sure
Whether we pain or not endure;
And just so far are sore and griev'd,
As by the fancy is believ'd.
Some have been wounded with conceit,
And died of mere opinion straight;*
Others, tho' wounded sore in reason,
Felt no contusion, nor discretion.†
A Saxon Duke did grow so fat,
That mice, as histories relate,
Ate grots and labyrinths to dwell in
His postique parts, without his feeling;
Then how is't possible a kick
Should e'er reach that way to the quick?‡
Quoth she, I grant it is in vain,
For one that's basted to feel pain;
Because the pangs his bones endure,
Contribute nothing to the cure;
Yet honour hurt is wont to rage
With pain no med'cine can assuage.
Quoth he, That honour's very squeamish
That takes a basting for a blemish:

* In Grey's note on this passage there are several stories of this sort; of which the most remarkable is the case of the Chevalier Jarre, "who was upon the scaffold at Troyes, had his hair "cut off, the handkerchief before his eyes, and the sword in the "executioner's hand to cut off his head; but the king pardoned "him: being taken up, his fear had so taken hold of him, that "he could not stand nor speak: they led him to bed, and opened "a vein, but no blood would come." Lord Stafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 166.

† As it is here stopped, it signifies, others though really and sorely wounded, (see the Lady's Answer, line 212) felt no bruise or cut: but if we put a semicolon after sore, and no stop after reason, the meaning may be, others though wounded sore in body, yet in mind or imagination felt no bruise or cut. Discretion, here signifies a cut, or separation of parts.

‡ He justly argues from this story, that if a man could be so gnawed and mangled in those parts, without his feeling it, a kick in the same place would not much hurt him. See Butler's Remains, vol. i. p. 31, where it is asserted, that the note in the old editions is by Butler himself. I cannot fix this story on any particular duke of Saxony. It may be paralleled by the case of an inferior animal, as related by a pretended eye-witness.—In Arcadia scio me esse spectatum suem, quæ præ pinguedine carnis, non modo surgere non posset; sed etiam ut in ejus corpore sorex, exesâ carne, nidum fecisset, et peperissit mures. Varro, ii. 4, 12.

For what's more honourable than scars,
Or skin to tatters rent in wars?
Some have been beaten till they know
What wood a cudgel's of by th' blow;
Some kick'd, until they can feel whether
A shoe be Spanish or neat's leather:
And yet have met, after long running,
With some whom they have taught that cunning.
The furthest way about, t' o'ercome,
I' th' end does prove the nearest home
By laws of learned duellists,
They that are bruis'd with wood, or fists,
And think one beating may for once
Suffice, are cowards and poltroons:
But if they dare engage t' a second,
They're stout and gallant fellows reckon'd
Th' old Romans freedom did bestow,
Our princes worship, with a blow:*
King Pyrrhus cur'd his splenetic
And testy courtiers with a kick.†

---

* One form of declaring a slave free, at Rome, was for the prætor, in the presence of certain persons, to give the slave a light stroke with a small stick, from its use called vindicta.

Tune mihi dominus, rerum imperiis hominumque
Tot tantisque minor; quem ter vindicta quaterque
Imposita haud unquam miserâ formidine privet?
Horat. Sat. ii. 7, 75.

Vindicta, postquam meus a prætore recessi,
Cur mihi non liceat jussit quodcunque voluntas.
Persius, v. 88.

Sometimes freedom was given by an alapa, or blow with the open hand upon the face or head:

—— quibus una Quiritem
Vertigo facit. Pers. v. 75.

Quos manumittebant eos, Alapa percussos, circumageban et liberos confirmabant: from hence, perhaps, came the saying of a man's being giddy, or having his head turned with his good fortune.

Verterit hunc dominus, momento turbinis exit
Marcus Dama. Pers. v. 78.

† It was a general belief that he could cure the spleen by sacrificing a white cock, and with his right foot gently pressing the spleen of the persons, laid down on their backs, a little on one side. Nor was any so poor and inconsiderable as not to receive the benefit of his royal touch, if he desired it. The toe of that foot was said to have a divine virtue, for after his death the rest of his body being consumed, this was found unhurt and untouched by the fire. Vid. Plutarch. in Vita Pyrrhi, sub initio.

The Negus,* when some mighty lord
Or potentate's to be restor'd,
And pardon'd for some great offence,
With which he's willing to dispense,
First has him laid upon his belly,
Then beaten back and side, t' a jelly ;†
That done, he rises, humbly bows,
And gives thanks for the princely blows ;
Departs not meanly proud, and boasting
Of his magnificent rib-roasting.
The beaten soldier proves most manful,
That, like his sword, endures the anvil,‡
And justly's found so formidable,
The more his valour's malleable :
But he that fears a bastinado,
Will run away from his own shadow :§
And though I'm now in durance fast,
By our own party basely cast,
Ransom, exchange, parole, refus'd,
And worst than by the en'my us'd ;
In close catasta‖ shut, past hope
Of wit or valour to elope ;
As beards, the nearer that they tend
To th' earth, still grow more reverend ;
And cannons shoot the higher pitches,
The lower we let down their breeches ;
I'll make this low dejected fate
Advance me to a greater height.¶
Quoth she, You've almost made m' in love
With that which did my pity move.
Great wits and valours, like great states,

---

* Negus was king of Abyssinia.

† This story is told in Le Blanc's Travels, Part ii. ch. 4.

‡ —— *τύπτεσθαι, μύδρος*
ὑπομένειν πληγὰς, ἄκμων.

See the character of a parasite in the Comic Fragments, Grotdicta Poëtarum apud Stobæum.

§ The fury of Bucephalus proceeded from the fear of his own shadow. Rabelais, vol. i. c. 14.

‖ A cage or prison wherein slaves were exposed for sale :

—— ne sit præstantior alter
Cappadocas rigida pingues plausisse catasta.
Persius, vi. 76.

¶ —— *ὦ ϛε μηδεὶς πρὸς θεῶν*
Πράττων κακῶς λίαν ἀθυμήσῃ ποτέ.
Ἴσος γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ τοῦτο πρόφασις γίνεται.
Menand. Fragm. p. 108.

Do sometimes sink with their own weights :* 270
Th' extremes of glory and of shame,
Like east and west, become the same.†
No Indian prince has to his palace
More followers than a thief to the gallows.
But if a beating seems so brave, 275
What glories must a whipping have?
Such great atchievements cannot fail
To cast salt on a woman's tail :‡
For if I thought your nat'ral talent
Of passive courage were so gallant, 280
As you strain hard to have it thought,
I could grow amorous, and dote.
When Hudibras this language heard,
He prick'd up's ears, and strok'd his beard;
Thought he, this is the lucky hour, 285
Wines work when vines are in the flower :§
This crisis then I'll set my rest on,
And put her boldly to the quest'on.
Madam, what you would seem to doubt
Shall be to all the world made out, 290
How I've been drubb'd, and with what spirit,
And magnanimity I bear it;
And if you doubt it to be true,
I'll stake myself down against you:
And if I fail in love or troth,‖ 295
Be you the winner and take both.

---

* Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit. Hor. Ep. xvi.

† That is, glory and shame, which are as opposite as east and west, become the same as in the two following verses:

No Indian prince has to his palace
More followers than a thief to the gallows.

‡ Alluding to the common saying:—You will catch the bird if you throw salt on his tail.

§ A proverbial expression for the fairest and best opportunity of doing any thing. It is a common observation among brewers, distillers of Geneva, and vinegar makers, that their liquors ferment best when the plants used in them are in the flower. Boerhaave's Chem. 4to. p. 288. Hudibras vainly compares himself to the vine in flower, for he thinks he has set the widow fermenting. Willis de Ferment. says, Vulgo increbuit opinio quod selecta quædam anni tempora, ea nimirum in quibus vegetabilia cujus generis florent, &c. et vina quo tempore vitis efflorescit, turgescentias denuo concipiant. See also Sir Kenelm Digby on the cure of wounds by sympathetic powder. Stains in linen, by vegetable juices, are most easily taken out when the several plants are in their prime. Examples, in raspberries, quinces, hops, &c. See Boyle's History of Air.

‖ The word troth, from the Saxon treoth, signifies punctuality or fidelity in performing an agreement.

Quoth she, I've heard old cunning stagers
Say, fools for arguments use wagers.
And though I prais'd your valour, yet
I did not mean to baulk your wit,
Which, if you have, you must needs know
What, I have told you before now,
And you b' experiment have prov'd,
I cannot love where I'm belov'd.
Quoth Hudibras, 'Tis a caprich* 305
Beyond the infliction of a witch;
So cheats to play with those still aim,
That do not understand the game.
Love in your heart as idly burns,
As fire in antique Roman urns,† 310
To warm the dead, and vainly light
Those only that see nothing by't.
Have you not power to entertain,
And render love for love again?
As no man can draw in his breath 315
At once, and force out air beneath.
Or do you love yourself so much,
To bear all rivals else a grutch?
What fate can lay a greater curse,
Than you upon yourself would force; 320
For wedlock, without love, some say,
Is but a lock without a key.
It is a kind of rape to marry
One that neglects, or cares not for ye:

---

* A whim or fancy; from the Italian word capriccio.

† Fortunius Licetus wrote a large discourse concerning these urns, from whence Bishop Wilkins, in his Mathematical Memoirs, hath recited many particulars. In Camden's Description of Yorkshire, a lamp is said to have been found in the tomb of Constantius Chlorus. An extraordinary one is mentioned by St. Augustin, De Civitate Dei, 21, 6. Argyro est phanum Veneris super mare: ibi est lucerna super candelabrum posita, lucens ad mare sub divo cœli, nam neque ventus aspergit neque pluvia extinguit. The story of the lamp in the sepulchre of Tullia, the daughter of Cicero, which was supposed to have burnt above 1550 years, is told by Pancirollus and others; sed credat Judæus. M. le Prince de St. Severe accounts for the appearance on philosophical principles, in a pamphlet published at Naples, 1753. "Je crois," says he, "d'avoir convaincu d'être fabuleuse l'opinion des lampes perpetuelles des anciens. Les lumières imaginaires, que l'on a vu quelquefois dans les anciens sepulcres, one été produites par le subite ascension des sels qui y étoient renfermées." He should rather have said, by inflammable air, so frequently generated in pits and caverns. This supposition is confirmed by a letter of Jerome Giordano to the noble author, dated Lucera, Sept. 19, 1753, giving a curious account of an ancient sepulchre opene. there in that year.

For what does make it ravishment,
But b'ing against the mind's consent?
A rape, that is the more inhuman,
For being acted by a woman
Why are you fair, but to entice us
To love you, that you may despise us?
But though you cannot love, you say,
Out of your own fantastic way,*
Why should you not, at least, allow
Those that love you, to do so too:
For, as you fly me, and pursue
Love more averse, so I do you;
And am, by your own doctrine, taught
To practise what you call a fault.
Quoth she, If what you say be true,
You must fly me, as I do you;
But 'tis not what we do, but say,
In love, and preaching, that must sway.
Quoth he, To bid me not to love,
Is to forbid my pulse to move,
My beard to grow, my ears to prick up,
Or, when I'm in a fit, to hickup:
Command me to piss out the moon,
And 'twill as easily be done.
Love's power's too great to be withstood
By feeble human flesh and blood.
'Twas he that brought upon his knees
The hect'ring kill-cow Hercules;
Reduc'd his leaguer-lion's skin
T' a petticoat,† and made him spin:

* It has generally been printed fanatic; but, I believe, most readers will approve of Dr. Grey's alteration. It agrees better with the sense, and with what she says afterwards:

Yet 'tis no fantastic pique
I have to love, nor coy dislike.

Though fanatic sometimes signifies mad, irrational, absurd: thus Juvenal, iv.:

—— ut fanaticus æstro,
Percussus, Bellona, tuo ——

† Leaguer signifies a siege laid to a town; it seems to be also used for a pitched or standing camp: a leaguer coat is a sort of watch cloak, or coat used by soldiers when they are at a siege or upon duty. Hudibras here speaks of the lion's skin as Hercules's leaguer, or military habit, his campaign coat. See Skinner's Lexicon: art. Leaguer. Læna, in Latin, is by Ainsworth translated a soldier's leaguer coat. Hercules changed clothes with Omphale. Ovid. Fasti, ii.

Cultibus Alciden instruit illa suis.
Dat tenues tunicas Gætulo murice tinctas:——
Ipsa capit clavamque gravem, spoliumque leonis.

Seiz'd on his club and made it dwindle* 355
T' a feeble distaff, and a spindle.
'Twas he made emperors gallants
To their own sisters, and their aunts;
Set popes and cardinals agog,
To play with pages at leap-frog;† 360
'Twas he that gave our senate purges,
And flux'd the house of many a burgess;‡
Made those that represent the nation
Submit, and suffer amputation:
And all the grandees o' th' cabal, 365
Adjourn to tubs, at spring and fall.
He mounted synod-men, and rode 'em
To Dirty-lane and little Sodom;
Made 'em curvet, like Spanish gennets,
And take the ring at madam ———.§ 370
'Twas he that made Saint Francis do
More than the devil could tempt him to;‖
In cold and frosty weather grow
Enamour'd of a wife of snow;
And though she were of rigid temper, 375
With melting flames accost and tempt her;
Which, after in enjoyment quenching
He hung a garland on his engine ¶
Quoth she, If love have these effects,
Why is it not forbid our sex? 380
Why is't not damn'd, and interdicted,
For diabolical and wicked?
And sung, as out of tune, against,

---

* Mæonias inter calathum tenuisse puellas
Diceris; et dominæ pertimuisse minas.
Non fugis, Alcide, victricem mille laborum
Rasilibus calathis imposuisse manum?
Crassaque robusto deducis pollice fila,
Æquaque formosæ pensa rependis heræ.
Ovid. Epist. Dejanira Herculi.

† Cardinal Casa, archbishop of Beneventum, was accused of having written some Italian verses, in his youth, in praise of sodomy

‡ This alludes to Oliver Cromwell turning the members out of the house of commons, and calling Harry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth whoremasters. Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 275.

§ The Tatler mentions a lady of this stamp, called Bennet.

‖ In the legend of the life of St. Francis, we are told, that being tempted by the devil in the shape of a virgin, he subdued his passion, by embracing a pillar of snow.

¶ In the history of the life of Lewis XIII. by James Howell, Esq., p. 80, it is said, that the French horsemen who were killed at the Isle of Rhé, had their mistresses' favors tied about their engines.

As Turk and Pope are by the saints ?*
I find, I've greater reason for it,
Than I believ'd before t' abhor it.
Quoth Hudibras, these sad effects
Spring from your heathenish neglects
Of love's great pow'r, which he returns
Upon yourselves with equal scorns ;
And those who worthy lovers slight,
Plagues with prepost'rous appetite ;
This made the beauteous queen of Crete
To take a town-bull for her sweet ;†
And from her greatness stoop so low,
To be the rival of a cow.
Others, to prostitute their great hearts,
To be baboons' and monkeys' sweet-hearts.
Some with the dev'l himself in league grow,
By's representative a negro ;
'Twas this made vestal maids love-sick,
And venture to be buried quick.‡
Some by their fathers and their brothers,§
To be made mistresses, and mothers.
'Tis this that proudest dames enamours
On lacquies, and varlets-des-chambres ;||
Their haughty stomachs overcomes,

---

* Perhaps the saints were fond of Robert Wisdom's hymn :

"Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word—
"From Turk and Pope, defend us, Lord."

† Pasiphaë, the wife of Minos, was in love with a man, whose name was Taurus, or bull.

‡ By the Roman law the vestal virgins were buried alive, if they broke their vow of chastity.

§ Myrrha patrem, sed non quo filia debet, amavit.
Ovid. de Arte Am. i. 285.

|| Varlet was formerly used in the same sense as valet: perhaps our poet might please himself with the meaning given to this word in later days, when it came to denote a rogue. The word knave, which now signifies a cheat, formerly meant no more than a servant. Thus, in an old translation of St. Paul's Epistles, and in Dryden. Mr. Butler, in his Posthumous Works, uses the word varlet for bumbailiff, though I do not find it in this sense in any dictionary. See Butler's Genuine Remains, vol. ii. pp. 81, and 171. Thus fur in Latin :

Quid domini faciant, audent cum talia fures.
Virg. Ecl. iii. 16.

Exilis domus est, ubi non et multa supersunt,
Et dominum fallunt, et prosunt furibus.
Hor. Epist. lib. i. 6, 45.

This passage is quoted by Plutarch in the life of Lucullus.

And makes 'em stoop to dirty grooms,
To slight the world, and to disparage
Claps, issue, infamy, and marriage.*
Quoth she, These judgments are severe,
Yet such as I should rather bear,
Than trust men with their oaths, or prove
Their faith and secrecy in love.
Says he, There is a weighty reason
Fore secrecy in love as treason.
Love is a burglarer, a felon,
That in the windore-eye does steal in†
To rob the heart, and, with his prey,
Steals out again a closer way,
Which whosoever can discover,
He's sure, as he deserves, to suffer.
Love is a fire, that burns and sparkles
In men, as nat'rally as in charcoals,
Which sooty chymists stop in holes,
When out of wood they extract coals ;‡
So lovers should their passions choke,
That tho' they burn, they may not smoke.
'Tis like that sturdy thief that stole,
And dragg'd beasts backward into's hole ;§
So love does lovers, and us men
Draws by the tails into his den.
That no impression may discover,
And trace t' his cave the wary lover
But if you doubt I should reveal

---

* That is, to slight the opinion of the world, and to undertake the want of issue and marriage on the one hand, and the acquisition of claps and infamy on the other: or perhaps the poet meant a bitter sneer on matrimony, by saying love makes them submit to the embraces of their inferiors, and consequently to disregard four principal evils of such connections, disease, childbearing, disgrace, and marriage.

† Thus it is spelt in most editions, and perhaps most agreeably to the etymology. See Skinner.

‡ Charcoal colliers, in order to keep their wood from blazing when it is in the pit, cover it carefully with turf and mould.

§ Cacus, a noted robber, who, when he had stolen cattle, drew them backward by their tails into his den, lest they should be traced and discovered:

> At furiis Caci mens effera, ne quid inausum
> Aut intractatum scelerisve dolive fuisset,
> Quatuor a stabulis præstanti corpore tauros
> Avertit, totidem formâ superante juvencas;
> Atque hos, ne qua forent pedibus vestigia rectis,
> Caudâ in speluncam tractos, versisque viarum
> Indiciis raptos, saxo occultabat opaco.
>
> Æneis viii. 205.

What you entrust me under seal,
I'll prove myself as close and virtuous
As your own secretary, Albertus.*
Quoth she, I grant you may be close
In hiding what your aims propose:
Love-passions are like parables,
By which men still mean something else:
Tho' love be all the world's pretence,
Money's the mythologic sense,
The real substance of the shadow,
Which all address and courtship's made to.
Thought he, I understand your play,
And how to quit you your own way;
He that will win his dame, must do
As Love does, when he bends his bow;
With one hand thrust the lady from,
And with the other pull her home.†
I grant, quoth he, wealth is a great
Provocative to am'rous heat:
It is all philtres and high diet,
That makes love rampant, and to fly out:
'Tis beauty always in the flower,
That buds and blossoms at fourscore:
'Tis that by which the sun and moon,
At their own weapons are out-done:‡

* Albertus Magnus was bishop of Ratisbon, about the year 1260, and wrote a book, entitled, De Secretis Mulierum. Hence the poet facetiously calls him the women's secretary. It was printed at Amsterdam, in the year 1643, with another silly book, entitled, Michaelis Scoti de Secretis Naturæ Opus.

† The Harleian Miscellany, vol. vi. p. 530, describes an interview between Perkin Warbeck and lady Catharine Gordon, which may serve as no improper specimen of this kind of dalliance. "If I prevail," says he, "let this kiss seal up the contract, and this kiss bear witness to the indentures; and this kiss, because one witness is not sufficient, consummate the assurance.—And so, with a kind of reverence and fashionable gesture, after he had kissed her thrice, he took her in both his hands, crosswise, and gazed upon her, with a kind of putting her from him and pulling her to him; and so again and again rekissed her, and set her in her place, with a pretty manner of enforcement."

‡ Gold and silver are marked by the sun and moon in chemistry, as they were supposed to be more immediately under the influence of those luminaries. Thus Chaucer, in the Chanones Yemannes Tale, l. 16293, ed. Tyrwhitt:

The bodies sevene eke, lo hem here anon
Sol gold is, and Luna silver, we threpe,
Mars iren, Mercurie quicksilver we clepe,
Saturnus led, and Jupiter is tin,
And Venus coper, by my fader kin.

The appropriation of certain metals to the seven planets re

That makes knights-errant fall in trances,
And lay about 'em in romances:
'Tis virtue, wit, and worth, and all
That men divine and sacred call:*
For what is worth in any thing,
But so much money as 'twill bring?
Or what but riches is there known,
Which man can solely call his own;
In which no creature goes his half,
Unless it be to squint and laugh?
I do confess, with goods and land,
I'd have a wife at second hand;
And such you are: nor is't your person
My stomach's set so sharp and fierce on;
But 'tis your better part, your riches,
That my enamour'd heart bewitches:
Let me your fortune but possess,
And settle your person how you please;
Or make it o'er in trust to the devil,
You'll find me reasonable and civil.
  Quoth she, I like this plainness better
Than false mock-passion, speech or letter,
Or any feat of qualm or swooning,
But hanging of yourself, or drowning;
Your only way with me to break
Your mind, is breaking of your neck:
For as when merchants break, o'erthrown
Like nine-pins, they strike others down;
So that would break my heart; which done,
My tempting fortune is your own.
These are but trifles; ev'ry lover
Will damn himself over and over,
And greater matters undertake
For a less worthy mistress' sake:
Yet th' are the only ways to prove
Th' unfeign'd realities of love;
For he that hangs, or beats out's brains,
The devil's in him if he feigns.
  Quoth Hudibras, This way's too rough
For mere experiment and proof;

spectively, may be traced as high as Proclus, in the fifth century, and perhaps is still more ancient. This point is discussed by La Croze. See Fabric. Biblioth. Gr. vol. vi. p. 793. The splendor of gold is more refulgent than the rays of the sun and moon

* Et genus, et formam, regina pecunia donat;
Ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela, Venusque.
Horat. Ep. i. 6, 37.

It is no jesting, trivial matter,
To swing i' th' air, or plunge in water,
And, like a water-witch, try love;*
That's to destroy, and not to prove:
As if a man should be dissected,
To find what part is disaffected:
Your better way is to make over,
In trust, your fortune to your lover;
Trust is a trial; if it break,
'Tis not so desp'rate as a neck:
Beside, th' experiment's more certain,
Men venture necks to gain a fortune;
The soldier does it every day,
Eight to the week, for sixpence pay:†
Your pettifoggers damn their souls,
To share with knaves in cheating fools:
And merchants, vent'ring through the main,
Slight pirates, rocks, and horns, for gain.
This is the way I advise you to,
Trust me, and see what I will do.
Quoth she, I should be loth to run
Myself all th' hazard, and you none;
Which must be done, unless some deed
Of your's aforesaid do precede;
Give but yourself one gentle swing,‡

* It was usual, when an old woman was suspected of witchcraft, to throw her into the water. If she swam, she was judged guilty; if she sunk, she preserved her character, and only lost her life.

† No comparison can be made between the evidence arising from each experiment; for as to venturing necks, it proves no great matter; it is done every day by the soldier, pettifogger, and merchant. If the soldier has only sixpence a day, and one day's pay is reserved weekly for stoppages, he may be said to make eight days to the week; adding that to the account of labor which is deducted from his pay. Percennius, the mutinous soldier in Tacitus, seems to have been sensible of some such hardship—Denis in diem assibus animam et corpus æstimari; hinc vestem, arma, tentoria; hinc sævitiam centurionum, et vacationes munerum redimi. Annal. i. 17.

‡ Ἔρωτα παύει λιμός, εἰ δὲ μὴ, χρόνος:
Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δε ταῦτα τὴν φλόγα σβέσῃ,
Θεραπεία σοι το λοιπὸν ἠρτησθω βρόχος.
Anthol. Gr. 23, ed. Ald

In Diogenes Laertius cum notis Meibom. p. 356, it is thus printed:

Ἔρωτα παύει λιμός, εἰ δὲ μὴ χρόνος,
Ἐὰν δὲ τούτοις μὴ δύνῃ χρῆσθαι, βρόχος.

See lines 485 and also 645 of this canto, where the word λιμός is turned into dry diet.

For trial, and I'll cut the string:
Or give that rev'rend head a maul,
Or two, or three, against a wall;
To shew you are a man of mettle,
And I'll engage myself to settle.
Quoth he, My head's not made of brass,
As Friar Bacon's noddle was;
Nor, like the Indian's skull, so tough,
That, authors say, 'twas musket-proof:*
As it had need to be to enter,
As yet, on any new adventure;
You see what bangs it has endur'd,
That would, before new feats, be cur'd;
But if that's all you stand upon,
Here strike me luck, it shall be done.†
Quoth she, The matter's not so far gone
As you suppose, two words t' a bargain;
That may be done, and time enough,
When you have given downright proof:
And yet 'tis no fantastic pique
I have to love, nor coy dislike;
'Tis no implicit, nice aversion‡
T' your conversation, mien, or person:
But a just fear, lest you should prove
False and perfidious in love;
For if I thought you could be true,
I could love twice as much as you.

---

* "Blockheads and loggerheads are in request in Brazil, and "helmets are of little use, every one having an artificial-"ized natural morion of his head: for the Brazilians' heads, "some of them are as hard as the wood that grows in their "country, for they cannot be broken, and they have them so "hard, that ours, in comparison of theirs, are like a pompion, "and when they would injure any white man, they call him "soft head." Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, p. 42, and Purchas's Pilgr. fol. vol. iii. p. 993.

† Percutere et ferire fœdus.
σπονδὰς τέμνειν καὶ ὁρκία. EURIP.

At the conclusion of treaties a beast was generally sacrificed. When butchers and country people make a bargain, one of the parties holds out in his hand a piece of money, which the other strikes, and the bargain is closed Callimachus Brunck. i. 464, epig. xiv. 5. τυτο δοκω, &c.

[*Y. L.* Come *strike me luck* with earnest, and draw the writings.

M. There's a God's penny for thee.
Beaumont and Fletcher.—Scornful Lady, Act ii.]

‡ Implicit here signifies secret, unaccountable, or an aversion conceived from the report of others. See P i. c. i. v. 130.

Quoth he, My faith as adamantine,
As chains of destiny, I'll maintain;
True as Apollo ever spoke,
Or oracle from heart of oak;*
And if you'll give my flame but vent,
Now in close hugger-mugger pent,
And shine upon me but benignly,
With that one, and that other pigsney,†
The sun and day shall sooner part,
Than love, or you, shake off my heart:
The sun that shall no more dispense
His own, but your bright influence;
I'll carve your name on barks of trees,‡
With true love-knots, and flourishes;
That shall infuse eternal spring,
And everlasting flourishing:
Drink every letter on't in stum,
And make it brisk champaign become;§

* Jupiter's oracle in Epirus, near the city of Dodona. Ubi nemus erat Jovi sacrum, querneum totum, in quo Jovis Dodonæi templum fuisse narratur.

† Pigsney is a term of blandishment, from the Anglo-Saxon, or Danish, piga, a pretty girl, or the eyes of a pretty lass: thus in Pembroke's Arcadia, Dametas says to his wife, "Miso, mine own pigsnie." To love one's mistress more than one's eyes, is a phrase used by all nations: thus Moschus in Greek, Catullus in Latin; Spenser, in his Fairy Queen:

—— her eyes, sweet smiling in delight,
Moystened their fiery beams, with which she thrill'd
Frail hearts, yet quenched not; like starry light,
Which sparkling on the silent waves, does seem more bright.

Thus the Italian poets, Tasso and Ariosto. Tyrwhitt says, in a note on Chaucer's Miller's Tale, v. 3268, "the Romans used oculus, as a term of endearment; and perhaps piggesnie, in burlesque poetry, means ocellus porci, the eyes of a pig being remarkably small."

‡ See Don Quixote, vol. i. ch. 4, and vol. iv. ch. 73.

Populus est, memini, fluviali consita ripa,
Est in qua nostri littera scripta memor.
Populæ, vive precor, quæ consita margine ripæ
Hoc in rugoso cortice carmen habes;
Cum Paris Œnone poterit spirare relicta,
Ad fontem Xanthi versa recurret aqua.
Ovid. Œnone Paridi. 25.

[Run, run, Orlando; carve on every tree,
The fair, the chaste, and unexpressive she.
As you like it.]

§ Stum, i. e. any new, thick, unfermented liquor, from the Latin mustum. Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, has quoted these lines to prove that stum may signify wine revived by a new fermentation: but, perhaps, it means no more than figuratively to say, that the remembrance of the widow's charms could turn

Whate'er you tread, your foot shall set
The primrose and the violet;
All spices, perfumes, and sweet powders,
Shall borrow from your breath their odours;
Nature her charter shall renew,
And take all lives of things from you;
The world depend upon your eye,
And when you frown upon it, die.
Only our loves shall still survive,
New worlds and natures to outlive;
And like to herald's moons, remain
All crescents, without change or wane.
Hold, hold, quoth she, no more of this,
Sir knight, you take your aim amiss:
For you will find it a hard chapter,
To catch me with poetic rapture,
In which your mastery of art
Doth show itself, and not your heart;
Nor will you raise in mine combustion,
By dint of high heroic fustian:*

bad wine into good, foul muddy wine into clear sparkling champaigne. It was usual, among the gallants of Butler's time, to drink as many bumpers to their mistress's health, as there were letters in her name. The custom prevailed among the Romans; thus the well-known epigram of Martial;

Nævia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur,
Quinque Lycas, Lyde quatuor, Ida tribus.—Ep. i. 72.

For every letter drink a glass,
That spells the name you fancy,
Take four, if Suky be your lass,
And five if it be Nancy.

The like compliment was paid to a particular friend or benefactor:

Det numerum cyathis Instanti littera Rufi:
Auctor enim tanti muneris ille mihi.—Mart. epig. viii. 51.

Mr. Sandys, in his Travels, says, this custom is still much practised by the merry Greeks, in the Morea, and other parts of the Levant.

Εγχει Ανσιδίκης κυάθους δέκα. lib. vii. Anthol.

* In Butler's MS. I find the following lines

In foreign universities,
When a king's born, or weds, or dies,
All other studies are laid by,
And all apply to poetry.
Some write in Hebrew, some in Greek,
And some more wise in Arabic;
T' avoid the critique, and th' expence
Of difficulter wit and sense.

Foreign land is often used by Mr. Butler for England See Genuine Remains.

She that with poetry is won,
Is but a desk to write upon;

As no edge can be sharp and keen,
That by the subtlest eye is seen:
So no wit should acute b' allow'd
That's easy to be understood.

For poets sing, though more speak plain,
As those that quote their works maintain;
And no man's bound to any thing
He does not say, but only sing.
For, since the good Confessor's time,
No deeds are valid, writ in rhyme;
Nor any held authentic acts,
Seal'd with the tooth upon the wax:
For men did then so freely deal,
Their words were deeds, and teeth a seal.

The following grants are said to be authentic; but whether they are or not, they are probably what the poet alludes to:—

Charter of Edward the Confessor.

ICHE Edward Konyng,
Have geoven of my forest the keeping,
Of the hundred of Chelmer and Daneing, [now Dengy, in Essex.]
To Randolph Peperking and to his kindling,
With heorte and hynde, doe and bock,
Hare and fox, cat and *brock*, [badger]
Wild foule with his flocke,
Patrick, fesaunte hen, and fesaunte cock;
With green and wilde stobb and stokk, [timber and stubbs of trees]
To kepen, and to yeomen by all *her* might, [their]
Both by day, and eke by night.
And hounds for to holde,
Gode swift and bolde.
Four Greyhounds and six *beackes*, [bitch hounds]
For hare and fox, and wilde cattes
And thereof ich made him my bocke [i. e. this deed my written evidence]
Wittenes the Bishop Wolston,
And *boche* ycleped many on. [witness]
And Sweyne of Essex, our brother,
And token hin many other,
And our steward Howelin
That besought me for him.

[*Six beackes.*—This line, as quoted by Steevens in a note to the Introduction to the Taming of the Shrew, runs thus, Four Greyhounds and six *bratckes*, which must be the correct reading, as may be gathered from the following quotations from Minshew and Ducange, unnoticed by the Shakspeare Commentators, in their numerous notes on the word, and their doubts on its gender. A *brache*, a little hound.—Minshew. *Bracetus, brachetus*, vulgo *brachet*. Charta Hen. II. tom. 2, Monast. Angl. p. 283. Concedo eis 2 leporarios et 4 *bracetos* ad leporem capiendum. Constit. Feder. Reg. Sicil. c. 115. Ut, nullus . . . . præsumat canem *braccum* videlicet, vel leporarium . . . . alterius furto subtrahere.]

And what men say of her, they mean
No more than that on which they lean.
Some with Arabian spices strive,
T' embalm her cruelly alive ;
Or season her, as French cooks use
Their haut-gouts, bouillies, or ragouts ;
Use her so barbarously ill,
To grind her lips upon a mill *
Until the facet doublet doth
Fit their rhymes rather than her mouth ;†
Her mouth compar'd t' an oyster's, with
A row of pearl in't, 'stead of teeth ;

Bock, in Saxon, is book, or written evidence ; this land was therefore held as bocland, a noble tenure in strict entail, that could not be alienated from the right heir.

Hopton, in the County of Salop,

To the Heyrs Male of the Hopton, lawfully begotten.

From me and from myne, to thee and to thine,
While the water runs, and the sun doth shine,
For lack of heyrs to the king againe.
I William, king, the third year of my reign,
Give to the Norman hunter,
To me that art both *line* and deare, [related, or of my lineage]
The Hop and the Hoptoune,
And all the bounds up and downe
Under the earth to hell,
Above the earth to heaven.
From me, and from myne,
To thee and to thyne ;
As good and as faire,
As ever they myne were ;
To witness that this is *sooth*, [true]
I bite the wite wax with my tooth,
Before Jugg, Marode, and Margery,
And my third son Henery,
For one bow, and one broad arrow,
When I come to hunt upon Yarrow.

This grant of William the Conqueror, is in John Stow's Chronicle, and in Blount's Antient Tenures. Other rhyming charters may be seen in Morant's Essex ; Little Dunmow, vol. ii. p. 429, and at Rochford, vol. i. p. 272.

* As they do by comparing her lips to rubies polished by a mill, which is in effect, and no better, than to grind by a mill, and that until those false stones (for, when all is done, lips are not true rubies) do plainly appear to have been brought in by them as rather befitting the absurdity of their rhymes, than that there is really any propriety in the comparison between her lips and rubies.

† Poets and romance writers have not been very scrupulous in the choice of metaphors, when they represented the beauties of their mistresses. Facets are precious stones, ground à la facette or with many faces, that they may have the greater lustre Doublets are crystals joined together with a cement, green or red, in order to resemble stones of that color.

Others make poesies of her cheeks,
Where red, and whitest colours mix;
In which the lily and the rose,
For Indian lake and ceruse goes.
The sun and moon, by her bright eyes,
Eclips'd and darken'd in the skies;
Are but black patches that she wears.
Cut into suns, and moons, and stars,*
By which astrologers, as well
As those in heav'n above, can tell
What strange events they do foreshow,
Unto her under-world below.†
Her voice the music of the spheres,
So loud, it deafens mortal ears;
As wise philosophers have thought,
And that's the cause we hear it not.‡
This has been done by some, who those
Th' ador'd in rhyme, would kick in prose;
And in those ribbons would have hung,
Of which melodiously they sung.§
That have the hard fate to write best,
Of those that still deserve it least;‖
It matters not, how false or forc'd,
So the best things be said o' th' worst;

* The ladies formerly were very fond of wearing a great number of black patches on their faces, and, perhaps, might amuse themselves in devising the shape of them. This fashion is alluded to in Sir Kenelm Digby's discourse on the sympathetic powder, and ridiculed in the Spectator, No. 50. But the poet here alludes to Dr. Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, p. 252, &c.

† A double entendre.

‡ "Pythagoras," saith Censorinus, "asserted, that this world "is made according to musical proportion; and that the seven "planets, betwixt heaven and earth, which govern the nativities "of mortals, have an harmonious motion, and render various "sounds according to their several heights, so consonant, that "they make most sweet melody, but to us inaudible, because of "the greatness of the noise, which the narrow passage of our "ears is not capable to receive." Stanley's Life of Pythagoras, p. 393.

§ Thus Waller on a girdle:

Give me but what this *riband* bound.

‖ Warburton was of opinion that Butler alluded to one of Mr. Waller's poems on Saccharissa, where he complains of her unkindness. Others suppose, that he alludes to Mr. Waller's poems on Oliver Cromwell, and King Charles II. The poet's reply to the king, when he reproached him with having written best in praise of Oliver Cromwell, is known to every one. "We "poets," says he, "succeed better in fiction than in truth." But this passage seems to relate to ladies and love, not to kings and politics.

It goes for nothing when 'tis said,
Only the arrow's drawn to th' head,
Whether it be the swan or goose
They level at: so shepherds use
To set the same mark on the hip,
Both of their sound and rotten sheep:
For wits that carry low or wide,
Must be aim'd higher, or beside
The mark, which else they ne'er come nigh,
But when they take their aim awry.*
But I do wonder you should chuse
This way t'attack me with your muse.
As one cut out to pass your tricks on,
With Fulham's of poetic fiction:†
I rather hop'd I should no more
Hear from you o' th' gallanting score;
For hard dry bastings use to prove
The readiest remedies of love,‡
Next a dry diet; but if those fail,
Yet this uneasy loop-hol'd jail,
In which y' are hamper'd by the fetlock,
Cannot but put y' in mind of wedlock:
Wedlock, that's worse than any hole here,
If that may serve you for a cooler
T' allay your mettle, all agog
Upon a wife, the heavier clog.

---

* An allusion to gunnery. In Butler's MS. Common-place book are the following lines:

Ingenuity, or wit,
Does only th' owner fit
For nothing, but to be undone.

For nature never gave to mortal yet,
A free and arbitrary power of wit:
But bound him to his good behaviour for't,
That he should never use it to do hurt.

Wit does but divert men from the road,
In which things vulgarly are understood;
Favours mistake, and ignorance, to own
A better sense than commonly is known.

Most men are so unjust, they look upon
Another's wit as enemy t' their own.

† That is, with cheats or impositions. Fulham was a can word for a false die, many of them being made at that place The high dice were loaded so as to come up 4, 5, 6, and the low ones 1, 2, 3. Frequently mentioned in Butler's Genuine Remains.

‡ Ἔρωτα παύει λιμός, &c. See note on line 525.

Nor rather thank your gentler fate,*
That, for a bruis'd or broken pate,
Has freed you from those knobs that grow
Much harder on the marry'd brow:
But if no dread can cool your courage,
From vent'ring on that dragon, marriage;
Yet give me quarter, and advance†
To nobler aims your puissance;
Level at beauty and at wit;
The fairest mark is easiest hit.‡
Quoth Hudibras, I am beforehand
In that already, with your command;§
For where does beauty and high wit
But in your constellation meet?
Quoth she, What does a match imply,
But likeness and equality?
I know you cannot think me fit
To be th' yokefellow of your wit;
Nor take one of so mean deserts,
To be the partner of your parts;
A grace which, if I cou'd believe,
I've not the conscience to receive.‖
That conscience, quoth Hudibras,
Is misinform'd: I'll state the case.
A man may be a legal donor
Of any thing whereof he's owner,
And may confer it where he lists,

* That is, and not rather: this depends upon v. 639, 40, 41, 42. All the intermediate verses from thence to this being, as it were, in a parenthesis: the sense is, But I do wonder—t' attack me, and should not rather thank—

† The widow here pretends, she would have him quit his pursuit of her, and aim higher; namely, at beauty and wit.

‡ The reader will observe the ingenious equivocation, or the double meaning of the word fairest.

§ Where one word ends with a vowel, and the next begins with a w, immediately followed by a vowel, or where one word ends with w, immediately preceded by a vowel, and the next begins with a vowel, the poet either leaves them as two syllables, or contracts them into one, as best suits his verse; thus in the passage before us, and in P. iii. c. i. v. 1561, and P. iii. c. ii. v. 339, these are contractions in the first case; and P. iii. c. i. v. 804, in the latter case.

‖ Our poet uses the word conscience here as a word of two syllables, and in the next line as a word of three: thus in Part i. c. i. v. 78, ratiocination is a word of five syllables, and in other places of four: in the first it is a treble rhyme. [In the first instance, conscience means only self-opinion; in the second, Hudibras marks it as meaning knowledge, by making it a trisyllable, (*conscience,*) and places it in ludicrous opposition to misinformed.]

I' th' judgment of all casuists:
Then wit, and parts, and valour may
Be ali'nated, and made away,
By those that are proprietors,
As I may give or sell my horse.
Quoth she, I grant the case is true,
And proper 'twixt your horse and you;
But whether I may take, as well
As you may give away, or sell?
Buyers, you know, are bid beware;
And worse than thieves receivers are.
How shall I answer hue and cry,
For a roan-gelding, twelve hands high,*
All spurr'd and switch'd, a lock on's hoof,†
A sorrel mane? Can I bring proof
Where, when, by whom, and what y' are sold for,
And in the open market toll'd for?
Or, should I take you for a stray,
You must be kept a year and day,
Ere I can own you, here i' th' pound,
Where, if ye're sought, you may be found;
And in the mean time I must pay
For all your provender and hay.
Quoth he, It stands me much upon
T' enervate this objection,
And prove myself, by topic clear,
No gelding, as you would infer.
Loss of virility's averr'd
To be the cause of loss of beard,‡
That does, like embryo in the womb,
Abortive on the chin become:
This first a woman did invent,
In envy of man's ornament:
Semiramis of Babylon,
Who first of all cut men o' th' stone,§

* This is a severe reflection upon the knight's abilities, his complexion, and his height, which the widow intimates was not more than four feet.

† There is humor in the representation which the widow makes of the knight, under the similitude of a roan gelding, supposed to be stolen, or to have strayed. Farmers often put locks on the fore-feet of their horses, to prevent their being stolen.

‡ See the note on line 143 of this canto.

§ Mr. Butler, in his own note, says, Semiramis teneros mares castravit omnium prima, and quotes Ammian. Marcellinus. But the poet means to laugh at Dr. Bulwer, who in his Artificial Changeling, scene 21, has many strange stories; and in page 208,

To mar their beards, and laid foundation
Of sow-geldering operation:
Look on this beard, and tell me whether
Eunuchs wear such, or geldings either?
Next it appears I am no horse,
That I can argue and discourse,
Have but two legs, and ne'er a tail.
Quoth she, That nothing will avail;
For some philosophers of late here,
Write men have four legs by nature,*
And that 'tis custom makes them go
Erroneously upon but two,
As 'twas in Germany made good,
B' a boy that lost himself in a wood;
And growing down t' a man, was wont
With wolves upon all four to hunt.
As for your reasons drawn from tails,†
We cannot say they're true or false,
Till you explain yourself, and show
B' experiment, 'tis so or no.
Quoth he, If you'll join issue on't,‡
I'll give you sat'sfact'ry account,
So you will promise, if you lose,
To settle all, and be my spouse.
That never shall be done, quoth she,
To one that wants a tail, by me;
For tails by nature sure were meant,
As well as beards, for ornament;§

---

says, "Nature gave to mankind a beard, that it might remain an "index in the face of the masculine generative faculty."

* Sir Kenelm Digby, in his book of Bodies, has the well-known story of the wild German boy, who went upon all-four, was overgrown with hair, and lived among the wild beasts, the credibility and truth of which he endeavors to establish. See also Tatler, No. 103. Some modern writers are said to have the same conceit. The second line here quoted seems to want half a foot, but it may be made right by the old way of spelling four, fower, or reading as in the edition of 1709:

Write *that* men have four legs by nature.

† See Fontaine, Conte de la jument du compere Pierre.

‡ That is, rest the cause upon this point.

§ Mr. Butler here alludes to Dr. Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, p. 410, where, besides the story of the Kentish men near Rochester, he gives an account, from an honest young man of Captain Morris's company, in Lieutenant-general Ireton's regiment, "that at Cashell, in the county of Tipperary, in the prov-"ince of Munster, in Carrick Patrick church, seated on a rock, "stormed by Lord Inchequin, where there were near 700 put to "the sword, and none saved but the mayor's wife, and his son; "there were found among the slain of the Irish, when they "were stripped, diverse that had tails near a quarter of a yard

And tho' the vulgar count them homely;
In men or beast they are so comely,
So gentee, alamode, and handsome,
I'll never marry man that wants one:
And 'till you can demonstrate plain,
You have one equal to your mane,
I'll be torn piece-meal by a horse,
Ere I'll take you for better or worse
The Prince of Cambay's daily food
Is asp, and basilisk, and toad,*
Which makes him have so strong a breath.
Each night he stinks a queen to death;
Yet I shall rather lie in's arms
Than your's, on any other terms.
Quoth he, What nature can afford
I shall produce, upon my word;
And if she ever gave that boon
To man, I'll prove that I have one;
I mean by postulate illation,†
When you shall offer just occasion;
But since ye've yet deny'd to give
My heart, your pris'ner, a reprieve,
But make it sink down to my heel,
Let that at least your pity feel;
And for the sufferings of your martyr,
Give its poor entertainer quarter;
And by discharge, or mainprise, grant
Deliv'ry from this base restraint.
Quoth she, I grieve to see your leg
Stuck in a hole here like a peg,
And if I knew which way to do't,
Your honour safe, I'd let you out.
That dames by jail-delivery
Of errant knights have been set free,‡

"long: forty soldiers, that were eye-witnesses, testified the same "upon their oaths." He mentions likewise a similar tale of many other nations.

* See Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. ii. p. 1495. Philosoph. Transactions, lxvi. 314. Montaigne, b. i. Essay on Customs. A gross double entendre runs through the whole of the widow's speeches, and likewise those of the knight. See T. Warton on English Poetry, iii. p. 10.

† That is, by inference, necessary consequence, or presumptive evidence.

‡ These and the following lines are a banter upon romance writers. Our author keeps Don Quixote constantly in his eye, when he is aiming at this object. In Europe, the Spaniards and the French engaged first in this kind of writing: from them it was communicated to the English.

When by enchantment they have been,
And sometimes for it too, laid in,
Is that which knights are bound to do
By order, oaths, and honour too ;*
For what are they renown'd and famous else,
But aiding of distressed damosels?
But for a lady, no ways errant,
To free a knight, we have no warrant
In any authentical romance,
Or classic author yet of France ;†
And I'd be loth to have you break
An ancient custom for a freak,
Or innovation introduce
In place of things of antique use,
To free your heels by any course,
That might b' unwholesome to your spurs :‡
Which if I could consent unto,
It is not in my pow'r to do ;
For 'tis a service must be done ye
With solemn previous ceremony ;
Which always has been us'd t' untie
The charms of those who here do lie ;
For as the ancients heretofore
To honour's temple had no door,
But that which thorough virtue's lay ; §
So from this dungeon there's no way
To honour's freedom, but by passing
That other virtuous school of lashing,
Where knights are kept in narrow lists,
With wooden lockets 'bout their wrists ;
In which they for a while are tenants,
And for their ladies suffer penance :
Whipping, that's virtue's governess,
Tutress of arts and sciences ;
That mends the gross mistakes of nature,

---

* Their oath was—Vous défendrez les querrelles justes de toutes les dames d'honneur, de toutes les veuves qui n'ont point des amis, des orphelins, et des filles dont la reputation est entière.

† In the Comitia Centuriata of the Romans, the class of nobility and senators voted first, and all other persons were styled infra classem. Hence their writers of the first rank were called classics.

‡ To your honor. The spurs are badges of knighthood. If a knight of the garter is degraded, his spurs must be hacked to pieces by the king's cook.

§ The temple of Virtue and Honor was built by Marius ; the architect was Mutius ; it had no posticum. See Vitruvius, &c.

And puts new life into dull matter;
That lays foundation for renown,
And all the honours of the gown.
This suffer'd, they are set at large,
And freed with hon'rable discharge;
Then, in their robes, the penitentials
Are straight presented with credentials,*
And in their way attended on
By magistrates of every town;
And, all respect and charges paid,
They're to their ancient seats convey'd.
Now if you'll venture for my sake,
To try the toughness of your back,
And suffer, as the rest have done,
The laying of a whipping on,
And may you prosper in your suit,
As you with equal vigour do't,
I here engage to be your bail,
And free you from th' unknightly jail:
But since our sex's modesty
Will not allow I should be by,
Bring me, on oath, a fair account,
And honour to, when you have done't;
And I'll admit you to the place
You claim as due in my good grace.
If matrimony and hanging go
By dest'ny, why not whipping too?
What med'cine else can cure the fits
Of lovers, when they lose their wits?
Love is a boy by poets styl'd,
Then spare the rod, and spoil the child:
A Persian emp'ror whipp'd his grannum,
The sea, his mother Venus came on;†
And hence some rev'rend men approve

* This alludes to the acts of parliament, 33 Eliz. cap. 4, and 1 James I. c. 31, whereby vagrants are ordered to be whipped, and, with a proper certificate, conveyed by the constables of the several parishes to the place of their settlement. These acts are in a great measure repealed by the 12th of Anne. Explained, amended, and repealed by the 10th, 13th, and 17th George II.

† *Spoil*, or *spill*, as in some copies, from the Saxon, is frequently used by Chaucer, in the sense of, to ruin, to destroy.

Xerxes whipped the sea, which was the mother of Venus, and Venus was the mother of Cupid; the sea, therefore, was the grannum, or grand-mother of Cupid, and the object of imperial flagellation, when the winds and the waves were not favorable and propitious to his fleets.

In Corum atque Eurum solitus sævire flagellis
Barbarus—— Juven Sat. x. 180.

Of rosemary in making love.*
As skilful coopers hoop their tubs
With Lydian and with Phrygian dubs,†
Why may not whipping have as good
A grace, perform'd in time and mood:
With comely movement, and by art,
Raise passion in a lady's heart?
It is an easier way to make
Love by, than that which many take.
Who would not rather suffer whipping,
Than swallow toasts of bits of ribbin?‡
Make wicked verses, traits,§ and faces,
And spell names over with beer-glasses?‖
Be under vows to hang and die
Love's sacrifice, and all a lie?
With China-oranges and tarts,
And whining-plays, lay baits for hearts?
Bribe chambermaids with love and money,
To break no roguish jests upon ye?¶
For lilies limn'd on cheeks, and roses,

---

* Venus came from the sea; hence the poet supposes some connection with the word rosemary, or ros maris, dew of the sea. *Rev'rend* in the preceding line means ancient, or old: it is used in this sense by Pope, in his Epistles to Lord Cobham, v. 232. Reverend age occurs in Waller, ed. Fenton, p. 56, and in this poem, P. ii. c. i. v. 527.

† Coopers, like blacksmiths, give to their work alternately a heavy stroke and a light one; which our poet humorously compares to the Lydian and Phrygian measures. The former was soft and effeminate, and called by Aristotle moral, because it settled and composed the affections; the latter was rough and martial, and termed enthusiastic, because it agitated the passions:

Et Phrygio stimulet numero cava tibia mentes.
Lucr. ii. 620.

Phrygiis cantibus incitantur. Cic. de Div. i. 114.

And all the while sweet music did divide
Her looser notes with Lydian harmony.

‡ These and the following lines afford a curious specimen of the follies practised by inamoratos.

§ *Trait* is a word rarely used in English, of French origin, signifying a stroke, or turn of wit or fancy.

‖ This kind of transmutation Mr. Butler is often guilty of: he means, scribble the beer-glasses over with the name of his sweetheart, [rather spells them in the number of glasses of beer, as before at v. 370.]

¶ Sed prius ancillam captandæ nosse puellæ
Cura sit: accessus molliat illa tuos.
Proxima consiliis dominæ sit ut illa videto;
Neve parum tacitis conscia fida jocis.
Ovid. de Arte Amandi, lib. i. 351.

With painted perfumes, hazard noses?*
Or, vent'ring to be brisk and wanton,
Do penance in a paper lanthorn?†
All this you may compound for now,
By suff'ring what I offer you;
Which is no more than has been done
By knights for ladies long agone.
Did not the great La Mancha do so
For the Infanta del Toboso?‡
Did not th' illustrious Bassa make
Himself a slave for Misse's sake?§
And with bull's pizzle, for her love,
Was taw'd as gentle as a glove?‖
Was not young Florio sent, to cool
His flame for Biancafiore, to school,¶
Where pedant made his pathic bum
For her sake suffer martyrdom?

* Their perfumes and paints were more prejudicial than the rouge and odors of modern times. They were used by fops and coxcombs as well as by women. The plain meaning of the distich is, venture disease for painted and perfumed whores.

† Alluding to a method of cure for the venereal disease: and it may point equivocally to some part of the Presbyterian or popish discipline.

‡ Meaning the penance which Don Quixote underwent for the sake of his Dulcinea, Part i. book iii. ch. 2.

§ Ibrahim, the illustrious Bassa, in the romance of Monsieur Scudery. His mistress, Isabella, princess of Monaco, being conveyed away to the Sultan's seraglio, he gets into the palace in quality of a slave, and, after a multitude of adventures, becomes grand-vizier.

‖ To taw is a term used by leather-dressers, signifying to soften the leather, and make it pliable, by frequently rubbing it. So in Ben Jonson's Alchymist, "Be curry'd, claw'd, and flaw'd, and "taw'd indeed." In the standard of ancient weights and measures, we read: "the cyse of a tanner that he tanne ox leather, "and netes, and calves;—the cyse of a tawyer that he shall "tawe none but shepes leather and deres." So the tawer, or fell-monger, prepares soft supple leather, as of buck, doe, kid, sheep, lamb, for gloves, &c., which preparation of tawing differs much from tanning. Johnson, in his Dictionary, says, "To taw "is to dress white leather, commonly called alum leather, in "contradistinction from tan leather, that which is dressed with "bark." [To *beat* and dress leather with alum. Nares.]

¶ This she instances from an Italian romance, entitled Florio and Biancafiore. Thus the lady mentions some illustrious examples of the three nations, Spanish, French, and Italian, to induce the knight to give himself a scourging, according to the established laws of chivalry and novelism. The adventures of Florio and Biancafiore, which make the principal subject of Boccace's Philocopo, were famous long before Boccace, as he himself informs us. Floris and Blancaster are mentioned as illustrious lovers, by a Languedocian poet, in his Breviari d'Amor, dated in the year 1288: it is probable, however, that the story was enlarged by Boccace. See Tyrwhitt on Chaucer, iv. 169.

Did not a certain lady whip,
Of late, her husband's own lordship?*
And tho' a grandee of the house,
Claw'd him with fundamental blows;
Ty'd him stark-naked to a bed-post,
And firk'd his hide, as if sh' had rid post;
And after in the sessions court,
Where whipping's judg'd, had honour for't?
This swear you will perform, and then
I'll set you from th' enchanted den,
And the magician's circle, clear.
Quoth he, I do profess and swear,
And will perform what you enjoin,
Or may I never see you mine.

* Lord Munson, of Bury St. Edmund's, one of the king's judges, being suspected by his lady of changing his political principles, was by her, together with the assistance of her maids, tied naked to the bed-post, and whipped till he promised to behave better. Sir William Waller's lady, Mrs. May, and Sir Henry Mildmay's lady, were supposed to have exercised the same authority. See History of Flagellants, p. 340, 8vo. I meet with the following lines in Butler's MS. Common-place Book:

Bees are governed in a monarchy,
By some more noble female bee.
For females never grow effeminate,
As men prove often, and subvert a state.
For as they take to men, and men to them,
It is the safest in the worst extream.
The Gracchi were more resolute and stout,
Who only by their mother had been taught.

The ladies on both sides were very active during the civil wars; they held their meetings, at which they encouraged one another in their zeal. Among the MSS. in the museum at Oxford is one entitled Diverse remarkable Orders of the Ladies, at the Spring-garden, in parliament assembled: together with certain votes of the unlawful assembly at Kate's, in Covent-garden, both sent abroad to prevent misinformation. Vesper. Veneris Martii 25, 1647. One of the orders is: "That whereas the lady "Norton, door-keeper of this house, complayned of Sir Robert Har- "ley, a member of the house of commons, for attempting to deface "her, which happened thus: the said lady being a zealous Inde- "pendent, and fond of the saints, and Sir Robert Harley having "found that she was likewise painted, he pretended that she came "within his ordinance against idolatry, saints painted, crosses, "&c.; but some friends of the said door-keeper urging in her "behalf, that none did ever yet attempt to adore her, or worship "her, she was justified, and the house hereupon declared, that "if any person, by virtue of any power whatsoever, pretended "to be derived from the house of commons, or any other court, "shall go about to impeach, hinder, or disturb any lady from "painting, worshipping, or adorning herself to the best advan- "tage, as also from planting of hairs, or investing of teeth," &c., &c. Another order in this mock parliament was, that they send a messenger to the assembly of divines, to inquire what is meant by the words due benevolence.

Amen, quoth she, then turn'd about,
And bid her squire let him out.
But ere an artist could be found
T' undo the charms another bound,
The sun grew low and left the skies,
Put down, some write, by ladies' eyes.
The moon pull'd off her veil of light,*
That's hides her face by day from sight.
Mysterious veil, of brightness made,
That's both her lustre and her shade,†
And in the night as freely shone,
As if her rays had been her own:
For darkness is the proper sphere
Where all false glories use t' appear.
The twinkling stars began to mustre,
And glitter with their borrow'd lustre,
While sleep the weary'd world reliev'd,
By counterfeiting death reviv'd.‡
Our vot'ry thought it best t' adjourn
His whipping penance till the morn,
And not to carry on a work

---

* This, and the eleven following lines, are very just and beautiful.

† The rays of the sun obscure the moon by day, and enlighten it by night. This passage is extremely beautiful and poetical, showing, among many others, Mr. Butler's powers in serious poetry, if he had chosen that path.

‡ There is a beautiful modern epigram, which I do not correctly remember, or know where to find. It runs nearly thus:

Somne levis, quanquam certissima mortis imago,
Consortem cupio te tamen esse tori.
Alma quies optata veni, nam sic sine vitâ
Vivere quam suave est, sic sine morte mori.

Ὕπνος τὰ μικρὰ τοῦ θανάτου μυστήρια.
Gnomici Poetæ, 915, 243.

Ὕπνος βροτειων παυστὴρ πόνων.
Athenæ. l. x. p. 449.

Ὕπνος πέφυκε σώματος σωτήρια.
Brunck. Analect. 243.

This canto in general is inimitable for wit and pleasantry: the character of Hudibras is well preserved; his manner of address appears to be natural, and at the same time has strong marks of singularity. Towards the conclusion, indeed, the conversation becomes obscene; but, excepting this blemish, I think the whole canto by no means inferior to any part of the performance. The critic will remark how exact our poet is in observing times and seasons; he describes morning and evening, and one day only is passed since the opening of the poem.

Of such importance, in the dark,
With erring haste, but rather stay,
And do't i' th' open face of day;
And in the mean time go in quest
Of next retreat, to take his rest

PART II. CANTO II.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Knight and Squire in hot dispute,
Within an ace of falling out,
Are parted with a sudden fright
Of strange alarm, and stranger sight;
With which adventuring to stickle,
They're sent away in nasty pickle.

HUDIBRAS.

CANTO II.

'Tis strange how some men's tempers suit,
Like bawd and brandy, with dispute,*
That for their own opinions stand fast,
Only to have them claw'd and canvast.
That keep their consciences in cases,† 5
As fiddlers do their crowds and bases,‡
Ne'er to be us'd but when they're bent
To play a fit for argument.§
Make true and false, unjust and just,
Of no use but to be discust; 10
Dispute and set a paradox,
Like a straight boot, upon the stocks,
And stretch it more unmercifully,
Than Helmont, Montaigne, White, or Tully,‖

---

* That is, how some men love disputing, as a bawd loves brandy.

† A pun, or jeu de mots, on cases of conscience.

‡ That is, their fiddles and violoncellos.

§ The old phrase was, to play a fit of mirth: the word fit often occurs in ancient ballads, and metrical romances: it is generally applied to music, and signifies a division or part, for the convenience of the performers; thus in the old poem of John the Reeve, the first part ends with this line,

The first fitt here find we;

afterwards it signified the whole part or division: thus Chaucer concludes the rhyme of Sir Thopas:

Lo! lordes min, here is a fit;
If ye will any more of it,
To tell it will I fond.

The learned and ingenious bishop of Dromore, (Dr. Percy,) thinks the word fit originally signified a poetic strain, verse, or poem.

‖ Men are too apt to subtilize when they labor in defence of a favorite sect or system. Van Helmont was an eminent physician and naturalist, a warm opposer of the principles of Aristotle and Galen, and unreasonably attached to chemistry. He was born at Brussels, in 1588, and died 1664. Michael de Montaigne was born at Perigord, of a good family, 1533, died 1592.

So th' ancient Stoics in the porch,
With fierce dispute maintain'd their church,
Beat out their brains in fight and study,
To prove that virtue is a body,*
That *bonum* is an animal,
Made good with stout polemic brawl:
In which some hundreds on the place

He was fancifully educated by his father, waked every morning with instruments of music, taught Latin by conversation, and Greek as an amusement. His paradoxes related only to common life; for he had little depth of learning. His essays contain abundance of whimsical reflections on matters of ordinary occurrence, especially upon his own temper and qualities. He was counsellor in the parliament of Bourdeaux, and mayor of the same place. Thomas White was second son of Richard White, of Essex, esquire, by Mary his wife, daughter of Edmund Plowden, the great lawyer, in the reign of Elizabeth. He was a zealous champion for the church of Rome and the Aristotelian philosophy. He wrote against Joseph Glanville, who printed at London, 1665, a book entitled, Scepsis Scientifica, or Confessed Ignorance the Way to Science. Mr. White's answer, which defended Aristotle and his disciples, was entitled, Scire, sive Sceptices et Scepticorum a jure Disputationis exclusio. This produced a reply from Glanville, under the title of, Scire, tuum nihil est. White published several books with the signatures of Thomas Albius, or Thomas Anglus ex Albiis. His Dialogues de Mundo, bear date 1642, and are signed, autore Thoma Anglo e generosâ Albiorum in oriente Trinobantum prosapiâ oriundo. He embraced the opinions of Sir Kenelm Digby. For *Tully* some editions read *Lully*. Raymond Lully was a Majorcan, born in the thirteenth century. He is said to have been extremely dissolute in his youth; to have turned sober at forty; in his old age to have preached the gospel to the Saracens, and suffered martyrdom, anno 1315. As to his paradoxes, prodiit, says Sanderson, e media barbarie vir magna professus, R. Lullus, qui opus logicum quàm specioso titulo insignivit, artem magnam commentus: cujus ope pollicetur trimestri spatio hominem, quamvis vel ipsa literarum elementa nescientem, totam encyclopædiam perdocere; idque per circulos et triangulos, et literas alphabeti sursum versum revolutas. There is a summary of his scheme in Gassendus de Usu Logicæ, c 8; Alsted Encyclop. tom. iv. sect. 17. He is frequently mentioned in Butler's Remains, see vol. i. 131, and in the character of an hermetic philosopher, vol. ii. pp. 232, 247–251. But I have retained the word Tully with the author's corrected edition. Mr. Butler alluded, I suppose, to Cicero's Stoicorum Paradoxa, in which, merely for the exercise of his wit, and to amuse himself and his friends, he has undertaken to defend some of the most extravagant doctrines of the porch: Ego vero illa ipsa, quæ vix in gymnasiis et in otio stoici probant, ludens conjeci in communes locos.

* The stoics allowed of no incorporeal substance, no medium between body and nothing. With them accidents and qualities, virtues and vices, the passions of the mind, and every thing else, was body. Animam constat animal esse, cum ipsa efficiat ut simus animalia. Virtus autem nihil aliud est quàm animus taliter se habens. Ergo animal est. See also Seneca, epistle 113, and Plutarch on Superstition, sub initio.

Were slain outright,* and many a face
Retrench'd of nose, and eyes, and beard,
To maintain what their sect averr'd.
All which the knight and squire in wrath,
Had like t' have suffer'd for their faith;
Each striving to make good his own,
As by the sequel shall be shown.
The sun had long since, in the lap
Of Thetis, taken out his nap,
And like a lobster boil'd, the morn
From black to red began to turn;†
When Hudibras, whom thoughts and aching
'Twixt sleeping kept all night and waking,
Began to rouse his drowsy eyes,
And from his couch prepar'd to rise;
Resolving to dispatch the deed
He vow'd to do with trusty speed:
But first, with knocking loud and bawling,

---

* We meet with the same account in the Remains, vol. ii. 242. "This had been an excellent course for the old round-"headed stoics to find out whether bonum was corpus, or virtue "an animal; about which they had so many fierce encounters "in their stoa, that about 1400 lost their lives on the place, and "far many more their beards, and teeth, and noses." The Grecian history, I believe, does not countenance these remarks. Diogenes Laertius, in his life of Zeno, book vii. sect. 5, says, that this philosopher read his lectures in the stoa or portico, and hopes the place would be no more violated by civil seditions: for, adds he, when the thirty tyrants governed the republic, 1400 citizens were killed there. Making no mention of a philosophical brawl, but speaking of a series of civil executions, which took place in the ninety-fourth olympiad, at least a hundred years before the foundation of the stoical school. In the old annotations, the words of Laertius are cited differently. "In por-"ticu (stoicorum schola Athenis) discipulorum seditionibus, "mille quadringenti triginta cives interfecti sunt." But from whence the words "discipulorum seditionibus" were picked up, I know not: unless from the old version of Ambrosius of Camaldoli. There is nothing to answer them in the Greek, nor do they appear in the translations of Aldobrandus or Meibomius. Xenophon observes, that more persons were destroyed by the tyranny of the thirty, than had been slain by the enemy in eight entire years of the Peloponnesian war. Both Isocrates and Æschines make the number fifteen hundred. Seneca De Tranquil. thirteen hundred. Lysias reports, that three hundred were condemned by one sentence. Laertius is the only writer that represents the portico as the scene of their sufferings. This, it is true, stood in the centre of Athens, in or near the forum. Perhaps, also, it might not be far from the desmoterion, or prison.

† Mr. M. Bacon says, this simile is taken from Rabelais, who calls the lobster cardinalized, from the red habit assumed by the clergy of that rank.

He rous'd the squire, in truckle lolling ;*
And after many circumstances,
Which vulgar authors in romances,
Do use to spend their time and wits on,
To make impertinent description,
They got, with much ado, to horse,
And to the castle bent their course,
In which he to the dame before
To suffer whipping-duty swore :†
Where now arriv'd, and half unharnest,
To carry on the work in earnest,
He stopp'd and paus'd upon the sudden,
And with a serious forehead plodding,
Sprung a new scruple in his head,
Which first he scratch'd, and after said ;
Whether it be direct infringing
An oath, if I should wave this swinging,‡
And what I've sworn to bear, forbear,
And so b' equivocation swear ;§
Or whether 't be a lesser sin
To be forsworn, than act the thing,
Are deep and subtle points, which must,
T' inform my conscience, be discust ;
In which to err a little, may
To errors infinite make way :
And therefore I desire to know
Thy judgment ere we farther go.
Quoth Ralpho, Since you do injoin't,
I shall enlarge upon the point ;
And, for my own part, do not doubt
Th' affirmative may be made out.
But first, to state the case aright,
For best advantage of our light ;
And thus 'tis, whether 't be a sin,
To claw and curry our own skin,
Greater or less than to forbear,
And that you are forsworn forswear.

---

* See Don Quixote, Part ii. ch. 20. A truckle-bed is a little bed on wheels, which runs under a larger bed.

† In some of the early editions, it is *duly swore*, the sense being in which he before swore to the dame to suffer whipping duly.

‡ From the Anglo-Saxon word swingan, to beat, or whip.

§ The equivocations and mental reservations of the Jesuits were loudly complained of, and by none more than by the sectaries. When these last came into power, the royalists had too often an opportunity of bringing the same charge against them. See Sanderson De Jur. Oblig. pr. ii. 55, 11.

But first, o' th' first: The inward man,
And outward, like a clan and clan,
Have always been at daggers-drawing
And one another clapper-clawing:*
Not that they really cuff or fence,
But in a spiritual mystic sense;
Which to mistake, and make them squabble,
In literal fray's abominable;
'Tis heathenish, in frequent use,
With pagans and apostate jews,
To offer sacrifice of bridewells,†
Like modern Indians to their idols,‡
And mongrel Christians of our times,
That expiate less with greater crimes,
And call the foul abomination,
Contrition and mortification.
Is't not enough we're bruis'd and kicked,
By sinful members of the wicked;
Our vessels, that are sanctify'd,
Profan'd, and curry'd back and side;
But we must claw ourselves with shameful
And heathen stripes, by their example?
Which, were there nothing to forbid it,
Is impious, because they did it:
This therefore may be justly reckon'd
A heinous sin. Now to the second;
That saints may claim a dispensation
To swear and forswear on occasion,
I doubt not; but it will appear
With pregnant light: the point is clear,
Oaths are but words, and words but wind,
Too feeble implements to bind;
And hold with deeds proportion, so
As shadows to a substance do.§
Then when they strive for place, 'tis fit
The weaker vessel should submit.
Although your church be opposite
To ours, as Black Friars are to White,

* The clans or tribes of the Highlanders of Scotland, have sometimes kept up an hereditary prosecution of their quarrels for many generations. The doctrine which the Independents and other sectaries held, concerning the inward and outward man, is frequently alluded to, and frequently explained, in these notes.

† Whipping, the punishment usually inflicted in houses of correction.

‡ Magis, the fakirs, dervises, bonzes, of the east.

§ Ἀσκιὰ ἔργου σκιά, was an aphorism of Democritus.

In rule and order, yet I grant
You are a reformado saint;*
And what the saints do claim as due,
You may pretend a title to:
But saints, whom oaths or vows oblige,
Know little of their privilege;
Farther, I mean, than carrying on
Some self-advantage of their own:
For if the devil, to serve his turn,
Can tell truth; why the saints should scorn,
When it serves theirs, to swear and lie,
I think there's little reason why:
Else h' has a greater power than they,
Which 'twere impiety to say.
We're not commanded to forbear,
Indefinitely, at all to swear;
But to swear idly, and in vain,
Without self-interest or gain.
For breaking of an oath and lying,
Is but a kind of self-denying,
A saint-like virtue; and from hence
Some have broke oaths by providence:
Some, to the glory of the Lord,
Perjur'd themselves, and broke their word:†
And this the constant rule and practice
Of all our late apostles' acts is.
Was not the cause at first begun
With perjury, and carried on?
Was there an oath the godly took,
But in due time and place they broke?

* That is, a saint volunteer, as being a Presbyterian, for the Independents were the saints in pay. See P. iii. c. ii. l. 91.

† Dr. Owen had a wonderful knack of attributing all the proceedings of his own party to the direction of the spirit. "The "rebel army," says South, "in their several treatings with the "king, being asked by him whether they would stand to such "and such agreements and promises, still answered, that they "would do as the spirit should direct them. Whereupon that "blessed prince would frequently condole his hard fate, that he "had to do with persons to whom the spirit dictated one thing "one day, and commanded the clean contrary the next." So the history of independency: when it was first moved in the house of commons to proceed capitally against the king, Cromwell stood up, and told them, that if any man moved this with design, he should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but, since providence and necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their counsels. Harrison, Carew, and others, when tried for the part they took in the king's death, professed they had acted out of conscience to the Lord.

Did we not bring our oaths in first,
Before our plate, to have them burst,
And cast in fitter models, for
The present use of church and war?
Did not our worthies of the house,
Before they broke the peace, break vows?
For having freed us first from both
Th' alleg'ance and suprem'cy oath ;*
Did they not next compel the nation
To take, and break the protestation ?†
To swear, and after to recant,
The solemn league and covenant?‡
To take th' engagement, and disclaim it,§
Enforc'd by those who first did frame it?
Did they not swear, at first, to fight‖

---

* Though they did not in formal and express terms abrogate these oaths till after the king's death, yet in effect they vacated and annulled them, by administering the king's power, and substituting other oaths, protestations, and covenants. Of these last it is said in the Icon Basilike, whoever was the author of it, "Every man soon grows his own pope, and easily absolves himself from those ties, which not the command of God's word, or the laws of the land, but only the subtilty and terror of a party cast upon them. Either superfluous and vain, when they are sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after ligaments they find the impostors really aiming to dissolve or suspend their former just and necessary obligations."

† In the protestation they promised to defend the true reformed religion, expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England; which yet in the covenant, not long after, they as religiously vowed to change.

‡ And to recant is but to cant again, says Sir Robert L'Estrange. In the solemn league and covenant, (called a league, because it was to be a bond of amity and confederation between the kingdoms of England and Scotland; and a covenant, because they pretended to make a covenant with God,) they swore to defend the person and authority of the king, and cause the world to behold their fidelity; and that they would not, in the least, diminish his just power and greatness. The Presbyterians, who in some instances stuck to the covenant, contrived an evasion for this part of it, viz.: that they had sworn to defend the person and authority of the king in support of religion and public liberty. Now, said they, we find that the defence of the person and authority of the king is incompatible with the support of religion and liberty, and therefore, for the sake of religion and liberty, we are bound to oppose and ruin the king. But the Independents, who were at last the prevailing party, utterly renounced the covenant. Mr. Goodwin, one of their most eminent preachers, asserted, that to violate this abominable and cursed oath, out of conscience to God, was a holy and blessed perjury.

§ After the death of the king a new oath was prepared, which they called the Engagement; the form whereof was, that every man should engage and swear to be true and faithful to the government then established.

‖ Cromwell, though in general a hypocrite, was very sincere

For the king's safety, and his right?
And after march'd to find him out,
And charg'd him home with horse and foot?
And yet still had the confidence
To swear it was in his defence?
Did they not swear to live and die
With Essex, and straight laid him by?*
If that were all, for some have swore
As false as they, if th' did no more.†
Did they not swear to maintain law,
In which that swearing made a flaw?
For protestant religion vow,
That did that vowing disallow?
For privilege of parliament,
In which that swearing made a rent?
And since, of all the three, not one
Is left in being, 'tis well known.‡
Did they not swear, in express words,
To prop and back the house of lords?§

---

when he first mustered his troop, and declared that he would not deceive them by perplexed or involved expressions, in his commission, to fight for king and parliament; but he would as soon discharge his pistol upon the king as upon any other person.

* When the parliament first took up arms, and the earl of Essex was chosen general, several members of the house stood up and declared that they would live and die with the earl of Essex. This was afterwards the usual style of addresses to parliament, and of their resolutions. Essex continued in great esteem with the party till September, 1644, when he was defeated by the king, in Cornwall. But the principal occasion of his being laid aside was the subtle practice of Cromwell, who in a speech to the house had thrown out some oblique reflections on the second fight near Newbery, and the loss of Donington castle; and, fearing the resentment of Essex, contrived to pass the self-denying ordinance, whereby Essex, as general, and most of the Presbyterians in office, were removed. The Presbyterians in the house were superior in number, and thought of new-modelling the army again; but in the mean time the earl died.

† Essex, it was loudly said by many of his friends, was poisoned. Clarendon's History, vol. iii. b. 10.

‡ Namely, law, religion, and privilege of parliament.

§ When the army began to present criminal information against the king, in order to keep the lords quiet, who might well be supposed to be in fear for their own privileges and honors, a message was sent to them promising to maintain their privileges of peerage, &c. But as soon as the king was beheaded, the lords were discarded and turned out. February the first, two days after the king's death, when the lords sent a message to the commons for a committee to consider the way of settling the nation; the commons made an order to consider on the morrow whether the messenger should be called in, and whether the house should take any cognizance thereof. February the fifth the lords sent again, but their messengers were not called

And after turn'd out the whole house-full
Of peers, as dang'rous and unuseful.
So Cromwell, with deep oaths and vows,
Swore all the commons out o' th' house ;*
Vow'd that the red-coats would disband,
Ay, marry wou'd they, at their command ;
And troll'd them on, and swore and swore,
Till th' army turn'd them out of door.
This tells us plainly what they thought,
That oaths and swearing go for nought ;
And that by them th' were only meant
To serve for an expedient.†
What was the public faith found out for,‡
But to slur men of what they fought for ?
The public faith, which ev'ry one
Is bound t' observe, yet kept by none ;
And if that go for nothing, why
Should private faith have such a tie ?

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in ; and it was debated, by the commons, whether the house of lords should be continued a court of judicature ; and the next day it was resolved by them, that the house of peers in parliament was useless, and ought to be abolished. Whitelock.

* After the king's party was utterly overthrown, Cromwell, who all along, as it is supposed, aimed at the supreme power, persuaded the parliament to send part of their army into Ireland, and to disband the rest : which the Presbyterians in the house were forward to do. This, as he knew it would, set the army in a mutiny, which he and the rest of the commanders made show to take indignation at. And Cromwell, to make the parliament secure, called God to witness, that he was sure the army would, at their first command, cast their arms at their feet ; and again solemnly swore, that he had rather himself and his whole family should be consumed, than that the army should break out into sedition. Yet in the mean time he blew up the flame ; and getting leave to go down to the army to quiet them, immediately joined with them in all their designs. By which arts he so strengthened his interest in the army, and incensed them against the parliament, that with the help of the red-coats he turned them all out of doors. Bates Elench. Mot. and others.

† *Expedient* was a term often used by the sectaries. When the members of the council of state engaged to approve of what should be done by the commons in parliament for the future, it was ordered to draw up an *expedient* for the members to subscribe.

‡ It was usual to pledge the public faith, as they called it, by which they meant the credit of parliament, or their own promises, for moneys borrowed, and many times never repaid. A remarkable answer was given to the citizens of London on some occasion : "In truth the subjects may plead the property of their "goods against the king, but not against the parliament, to whom "it appertains to dispose of all the goods of the kingdom." Their own partisans, Milton and Lilly, complain of not being repaid the money they had laid out to support the cause.

Oaths were not purpos'd more than law,
To keep the good and just in awe,*
But to confine the bad and sinful,
Like mortal cattle in a pinfold.
A saint's of th' heav'nly realm a peer;
And as no peer is bound to swear,
But on the gospel of his honour,
Of which he may dispose as owner,
It follows, tho' the thing be forgery,
And false, th' affirm it is no perjury,
But a mere ceremony, and a breach
Of nothing, but a form of speech,
And goes for no more when 'tis took,
Than mere saluting of the book.
Suppose the Scriptures are of force,
They're but commissions of course,†
And saints have freedom to digress,
And vary from 'em as they please;
Or misinterpret them by private
Instructions, to all aims they drive at.
Then why should we ourselves abridge,
And curtail our own privilege?
Quakers, that like to lanthorns, bear
Their light within them, will not swear;
Their gospel is an accidence,
By which they construe conscience,‡
And hold no sin so deeply red,
As that of breaking Priscian's head.§
The head and founder of their order,
That stirring hats held worse than murder;‖

* "Knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous "man, but for the lawless and disobedient" 1 Timothy i. 9.

† A satire on the liberty the parliament officers took of varying from their commissions, on pretence of private instructions.

‡ That is, they, the Quakers, interpret scripture altogether literal, and make a point of conscience of using the wrong number in grammar: or, it may mean that grammar is their scripture, by which they interpret right or wrong, lawful or unlawful.

§ Priscian was a great grammarian about the year 528, and when any one spoke false grammar, he was said to break Priscian's head. The Quakers, we know, are great sticklers for plainness and simplicity of speech. *Thou* is the singular, *you* the plural; consequently it is breaking Priscian's head, it is false grammar, quoth the Quaker, to use *you* in the singular number: George Fox was another Priscian, witness his Battel-d'or.

‖ Some think that the order of Quakers, and not Priscian, is here meant; but then it would be holds, not held: I therefore am inclined to think that the poet humorously supposes that Priscian, who received so many blows on the head, was much

These thinking they're oblig'd to troth
In swearing, will not take an oath;
Like mules, who if they've not the will
To keep their own pace, stand stock still;
But they are weak, and little know
What free-born consciences may do.
'Tis the temptation of the devil
That makes all human actions evil:
For saints may do the same things by
The spirit, in sincerity,
Which other men are tempted to,
And at the devil's instance do;
And yet the actions be contrary,
Just as the saints and wicked vary.
For as on land there is no beast
But in some fish at sea's exprest;*
So in the wicked there's no vice,
Of which the saints have not a spice;
And yet that thing that's pious in
The one, in th' other is a sin.†

averse to taking off his hat; and therefore calls him the founder of Quakerism. This may seem a far-fetched conceit; but a similar one is employed by Mr. Butler on another occasion. "You may perceive the Quaker has a crack in his skull," says he, "by the great care he takes to keep his hat on, lest his sickly "brains, if he have any, should take cold." Remains, ii. 352; i. 391. April 20, 1649, nearly at the beginning of Quakerism, Everard and Winstanley, chief of the Levellers, came to the general, and made a large declaration to justify themselves. While they were speaking, they stood with their hats on; and being demanded the reason, said, "he was but their fellow-"creature." "This is set down," says Whitelocke, "because it "was the beginning of the appearance of this opinion." So obstinate were the Quakers in this point, that Barclay makes the following declaration concerning it: "However small or foolish "this may seem, yet, I can say boldly in the sight of God, we be-"hooved to choose death rather than do it, and that for conscience "sake." There is a story told of William Penn, that being admitted to an audience by Charles II., he did not pull off his hat; when the king, as a gentle rebuke to him for his ill manners, took off his own. On which Penn said, "Friend Charles, why dost not thou "keep on thy hat?" and the king answered, "Friend Penn, it is "the custom of this place that no more than one person be cov-"ered at a time."

* Thus Dubartas:

> So many fishes of so many features,
> That in the waters we may see all creatures,
> Even all that on the earth are to be found,
> As if the world were in deep waters drown'd.

But see Sir Thomas Brown's Treatise on Vulgar Errors, book iii. chap. 24.

† Many held the antinomian principle, that believers, or per-

Is't not ridiculous, and nonsense,
A saint should be a slave to conscience?
That ought to be above such fancies,
As far as above ordinances?*
She's of the wicked, as I guess,
B' her looks, her language, and her dress
And tho', like constables, we search
For false wares one another's church;
Yet all of us hold this for true,
No faith is to the wicked due.
For truth is precious and divine,
Too rich a pearl for carnal swine.
Quoth Hudibras, All this is true,
Yet 'tis not fit that all men knew
Those mysteries and revelations;
And therefore topical evasions
Of subtle turns, and shifts of sense,
Serve best with th' wicked for pretence,
Such as the learned jesuits use,
And presbyterians, for excuse†

---

sons regenerate, cannot sin Though they commit the same acts, which are styled and are sins in others, yet in them they are no sins. Because, say they, it is not the nature of the action that derives a quality upon the person; but it is the antecedent quality or condition of the person that denominates his actions, and stamps them good or bad: so that they are those only who are previously wicked, that do wicked actions; but believers, doing the very same things, never commit the same sins.

* Some sectaries, especially the Muggletonians, thought themselves so sure of salvation, that they deemed it needless to conform to ordinances, human or divine.

† On the subject of jesuitical evasions we may recite a story from Mr. Foulis. He tells us that, a little before the death of Queen Elizabeth, when the Jesuits were endeavoring to set aside King James, a little book was written, entitled, a Treatise on Equivocation, or, as it was afterwards styled by Garnet, provincial of the Jesuits, a Treatise against Lying and Dissimulation, which yet allows an excuse for the most direct falsehood, by their law of directing the intention. For example, in time of the plague a man goes to Coventry; at the gates he is examined upon oath whether he came from London: the traveller, though he directly came from thence, may swear positively that he did not. The reason is, because he knows himself not infected, and does not endanger Coventry; which he supposes to answer the final intent of the demand. At the end of this book is an allowance and commendation of it by Blackwell, thus: Tractatus iste valde doctus et vere pius et catholicus est. Certe sac. scripturarum, patrum, doctorum, scholasticorum, canonistarum, et optimarum rationum præsidiis plenissime firmat equitatem equivocationis, ideoque dignissimus qui typis propagetur ad consolationem afflictorum catholicorum, et omnium piorum instructionem. Ita censeo Georgius Blackwellus archipresbiter Angliæ et proto-

Against the protestants, when th' happen
To find their churches taken napping;
As thus: a breach of oath is duple,
And either way admits a scruple,
And may be, ex parte of the maker,
More criminal than the injur'd taker;
For he that strains too far a vow,
Will break it, like an o'er bent bow:
And he that made, and forc'd it, broke it,
Not he that for convenience took it.
A broken oath is, quatenus oath,
As sound t' all purposes of troth,
As broken laws are ne'er the worse,
Nay, 'till they're broken, have no force.
What's justice to a man, or laws,
That never comes within their claws?
They have no pow'r, but to admonish;
Cannot control, coerce, or punish,
Until they're broken, and then touch
Those only that do make them such.
Beside, no engagement is allow'd,
By men in prison made, for good;
For when they're set at liberty,
They're from th' engagement too set free.
The rabbins write, when any jew
Did make to god or man a vow,*

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notarius apostolicus. On the second leaf it has this title: A Treatise against Lying and Fraudulent Dissimulation, newly overseen by the Author, and published for the Defence of Innocency, and for the Instruction of Ignorats. The MS. was seized by Sir Edward Coke, in Sir Thomas Tresham's chamber, in the Inner Temple, and is now in the Bodleian library, at Oxford. MS. Laud. E. 45, with the attestation in Sir Edward Coke's handwriting, 5 December 1605, and the following motto: Os quod mentitur occidit animam. An instance of the parliamentarians shifting their sense, and explaining away their declaration, may be this: When the Scots delivered up the king to the parliament, they were promised that he should be treated with safety, liberty, and honor. But when the Scots afterwards found reason to demand the performance of that promise, they were answered, that the promise was formed, published, and employed according as the state of affairs then stood. And yet these promises to preserve the person and authority of the king had been made with the most solemn protestations. We protest, say they, in the presence of Almighty God, which is the strongest bond of a Christian, and by the public faith, the most solemn that any state can give, that neither adversity nor success shall ever cause us to change our resolutions.

* There is a traditional doctrine among the Jews, that if any person has made a vow, which afterwards he wishes to recall, he may go to a rabbi, or three other men, and if he can prove to

Which afterwards he found untoward,
And stubborn to be kept, or too hard;
Any three other jews o' th' nation
Might free him from the obligation:
And have not two saints power to use
A greater privilege than three jews?*
The court of conscience, which in man
Should be supreme and sovereign,
Is't fit should be subordinate
To ev'ry petty court i' th' state,
And have less power than the lesser,
To deal with perjury at pleasure?
Have its proceedings disallow'd, or
Allow'd, at fancy of pie-powder?†
Tell all it does, or does not know,
For swearing ex officio?‡
Be forc'd t' impeach a broken hedge,
And pigs unring'd at vis. franc. pledge?§

them that no injury will be sustained by any one, they may free him from its obligation. See Remains, vol. i. 300.

* Mr. Butler told Mr. Veal, that by the two saints he meant Dr. Downing and Mr. Marshall, who, when some of the rebels had their lives spared on condition that they would not in future bear arms against the king, were sent to dispense with the oath, and persuade them to enter again into the service. Mr. Veal was a gentleman commoner of Edmund Hall during the troubles, and was about seventy years old when he gave this account to Mr. Coopey. See Godwin's MS. notes on Grey's Hudibras, in the Bodleian library, Oxford.

† The court of pie powder takes cognizance of such disputes as arise in fairs and markets; and is so called from the old French word pied-puldreaux, which signifies a pedler, one who gets a livelihood without a fixed or certain residence. See Barrington's Observations on the Statutes; and Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iii. p. 32. In the borough laws of Scotland, an alien merchant is called pied-puldreaux.

‡ In some courts an oath was administered, usually called the oath ex officio, whereby the parties were obliged to answer to interrogatories, and therefore were thought to be obliged to accuse or purge themselves of any criminal matter. In the year 1604 a conference was held concerning some reforms in ecclesiastical matters when James I. presided; one of the matters complained of was the ex officio oath. 'The Lord Chancellor, lord treasurer, and the archbishop (Whitgift) defended the oath: the king gave a description of it, laid down the grounds upon which it stood, and justified the wisdom of the constitution. For swearing ex officio, that is, by taking the ex officio oath. A further account of this oath may be seen in Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 444.

§ Lords of certain manors had the right of requiring surety of the freeholders for their good behavior towards the king and his subjects: which security, taken by the steward at the lord's court, was to be exhibited to the sheriff of the county. These manors were said to have view of frank pledge

Discover thieves, and bawds, recusants,
Priests, witches, eves-droppers, and nuisance:
Tell who did play at games unlawful,
And who fill'd pots of ale but half-full;
And have no pow'r at all, nor shift,
To help itself at a dead lift?
Why should not conscience have vacation
As well as other courts o' th' nation?
Have equal power to adjourn,
Appoint appearance and return?
And make as nice distinctions serve
To split a case, as those that carve,
Invoking cuckolds' names, hit joints?*
Why should not tricks as slight, do points?
Is not th' high court of justice sworn
To judge that law that serves their turn?†
Make their own jealousies high treason,
And fix them whomsoe'er they please on?
Cannot the learned counsel there
Make laws in any shape appear?
Mould 'em as witches do their clay,
When they make pictures to destroy?‡

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* Our ancestors, when they found it difficult to carve a goose a hare, or other dish, used to say in jest, they should hit the joint if they could think of the name of a cuckold. Mr. Kyrle, the man of Ross, celebrated by Pope, had always company to dine with him on a market day, and a goose, if it could be procured, was one of the dishes; which he claimed the privilege of carving himself. When any guest, ignorant of the etiquette of the table, offered to save him that trouble, he would exclaim, "Hold your hand, man, if I am good for any thing, it is for hitting cuckolds' joints."

† The high court of justice was a court first instituted for the trial of king Charles I., but afterwards extended its judicature to some of his adherents, to the year 1658. As it had no law or precedents to go by, its determinations were those which best served the turn of its members. See the form of the oath administered to them upon the trial of Sir Henry Slingsby, and Dr. Hewet, 1658, in Mercurius Politicus, No. 414, page 501.

‡ It was supposed that witches, by forming the image of any one in wax or clay, and sticking it with pins, or putting it to other torture, could annoy also the prototype or person represented. According to Dr. Dee such enchantments were used against Queen Elizabeth. Elinor Cobham employed them against Henry VI., and Amy Simpson against James VI. of Scotland. A criminal process was issued against Robert of Artois, who contrived the figure of a young man in wax, and declared it was made against John of France, the king's son: he added, that he would have another figure of a woman, not baptized, against a she-devil, the queen. Monsieur de Laverdies observes, that the spirit of superstition had persuaded people, that figures of wax baptized, and pierced for several days to the heart, brought about the death of the person against whom they were intended.

And vex them into any form
That fits their purpose to do harm?
Rack them until they do confess,
Impeach of treason whom they please,
And most perfidiously condemn
Those that engag'd their lives for them?
And yet do nothing in their own sense,
But what they ought by oath and conscience.
Can they not juggle, and with slight
Conveyance play with wrong and right;
And sell their blasts of wind as dear,*
As Lapland witches bottl'd air?†
Will not fear, favour, bribe, and grudge,
The same case sev'ral ways adjudge?
As seamen, with the self-same gale,
Will sev'ral different courses sail;
As when the sea breaks o'er its bounds,‡
And overflows the level grounds,
Those banks and dams, that, like a screen,
Did keep it out, now keep it in;
So when tyrannical usurpation
Invades the freedom of a nation,
The laws o' th' land that were intended
To keep it out, are made defend it.
Does not in chanc'ry ev'ry man swear
What makes best for him in his answer?
Is not the winding up witnesses,
And nicking, more than half the bus'ness?
For witnesses, like watches, go
Just as they're set, too fast or slow;
And where in conscience they're strait lac'd,
'Tis ten to one that side is cast.

Account of MSS. in the French king's library, 1789, vol. ii. p. 404.

* That is, their breath, their pleadings, their arguments.

† The witches in Lapland pretended to sell bags of wind to the sailors, which would carry them to whatever quarter they pleased. See Olaus Magnus. Cleveland, in his King's Disguise p. 61:

> The Laplanders when they would sell a wind
> Wafting to hell, bag up thy phrase and bind
> It to the barque, which at the voyage end
> Shifts poop, and breeds the collick in the fiend.

‡ This simile may be found in prose in Butler's Remains, vol. i. p. 298. "For as when the sea breaks over its bounds, and "overflows the land, those dams and banks that were made to "keep it out, do afterwards serve to keep it in: so when tyranny "and usurpation break in upon the common right and freedom, "the laws of God and of the land are abused, to support that "which they were intended to oppose."

Do not your juries give their verdict
As if they felt the cause, not heard it?
And as they please make matter o' fact
Run all on one side as they're packt?
Nature has made man's breast no windores,
To publish what he does within doors;*
Nor what dark secrets there inhabit,
Unless his own rash folly blab it.
If oaths can do a man no good
In his own bus'ness, why they shou'd,
In other matters, do him hurt,
I think there's little reason for't.
He that imposes an oath makes it,
Not he that for convenience takes it:
Then how can any man be said
To break an oath he never made?
These reasons may perhaps look oddly
To th' wicked, tho' they evince the godly;
But if they will not serve to clear
My honour, I am ne'er the near.
Honour is like that glassy bubble,
That finds philosophers such trouble:
Whose least part crack'd, the whole does fly,
And wits are crack'd to find out why.†

* Momus is said to have found fault with the frame of man, because there were no doors nor windows in his breast, through which his thoughts might be discovered. See an ingenious paper on this subject in the Guardian, vol. ii. No. 106. Mr. Butler spells windore in the same manner where it does not rhyme. Perhaps he thought that the etymology of the word was wind-door.

† The drop, or bubble, mentioned in this simile, is made of ordinary glass, of the shape and about twice the size described in the margin. It is nearly solid. The thick part at D or B, will bear the stroke of a hammer; but if you break off the top in the slender and sloping part at B or C, the whole will burst with a noise, and be blown about in powder to a considerable distance. The first establishers of the Royal Society, and many philosophers in various parts of Europe, found it difficult to explain this phenomenon. Monsieur Rohalt, in his Physics, calls it a kind of a miracle in nature, and says, (part i. c. xxii. § 47:) "Ed. Clarke lately "discovered, and brought it hither from Holland, "and which has travelled through all the universi-"ties in Europe, where it has raised the curiosity, "and confounded the reason of the greatest part of "the philosophers:" he accounts for it in the following manner. He says, that the drop, when taken hot from the fire, is suddenly emersed in some appropriate liquor, (cold water he thinks will break it,)* by which means the pores

* Here he is mistaken.

Quoth Ralpho, Honour's but a word,
To swear by only in a lord:*
In other men 'tis but a huff
To vapour with, instead of proof;
That like a wen, looks big and swells,
Insenseless, and just nothing else.
Let it, quoth he, be what it will,
It has the world's opinion still.
But as men are not wise that run
The slightest hazard, they may shun,
There may a medium be found out
To clear to all the world the doubt;
And that is, if a man may do't,
By proxy whipp'd, or substitute.†
Though nice and dark the point appear
Quoth Ralph, it may hold up and clear.
That sinners may supply the place
Of suffering saints, is a plain case.
Justice gives sentence, many times,
On one man for another's crimes.
Our brethren of New England use
Choice malefactors to excuse,‡

on the outside are closed, and the substance of the glass condensed; while the inside not cooling so fast, the pores are left wider and wider from the surface to the middle: so that the air being let in, and finding no passage, bursts it to pieces. To prove the truth of his explication, he observes, that if you break off the very point of it at A, the drop will not burst: because that part being very slender, it was cooled all at once, the pores were equally closed, and there is no passage for the air into the wider pores below. If you heat the drop again in the fire, and let it cool gradually, the outer pores will be opened, and made as large as the inner, and then, in whatever part you break it, there will be no bursting. He gave three of the drops to three several jewellers, to be drilled or filed at C D and E, but when they had worked them a little way, that is, beyond the pores which were closed, they all burst to powder.

* Lords, when they give judgment, are not sworn: they say only upon my honor.

† Mr. Murray, of the bed-chamber, was whipping boy to king Charles I. Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 244.

‡ This story is asserted to be true, in the notes subjoined by Mr. Butler to the early editions. A similar one is related by Dr. Grey, from Morton's English Canaan, printed 1637. A lusty young fellow was condemned to be hanged for stealing corn; but it was proposed in council to execute a bed-rid old man in the offender's clothes, which would satisfy appearances, and preserve a useful member to society. Dr. Grey mentions likewise a letter from the committee of Stafford to speaker Lenthall, dated Aug. 5, 1645, desiring a respite for Henry Steward, a soldier under the governor of Hartlebury castle, and offering two Irishmen to be executed in his stead. Ralpho calls them his brethren of New England, because the inhabitants there were generally In-

And hang the guiltless in their stead;
Of whom the churches have less need.
As lately 't happen'd: in a town
There liv'd a cobler, and but one,
That out of doctrine could cut use,
And mend men's lives as well as shoes.
This precious brother having slain,
In times of peace, an Indian,
Not out of malice, but mere zeal,
Because he was an infidel,
The mighty Tottipottimoy*
Sent to our elders an envoy,
Complaining sorely of the breach
Of league, held forth by brother Patch,
Against the articles in force
Between both churches, his and ours;
For which he crav'd the saints to render
Into his hands, or hang th' offender;
But they maturely having weigh'd
They had no more but him o' th' trade,
A man that serv'd them in a double
Capacity, to teach and cobble,
Resolv'd to spare him; yet to do
The Indian Hoghan Moghan too
Impartial justice, in his stead did
Hang an old weaver that was bed-rid:
Then wherefore may not you be skipp'd,
And in your room another whipp'd?
For all philosophers, but the sceptic,†
Hold whipping may be sympathetic.
It is enough, quoth Hudibras,
Thou hast resolv'd, and clear'd the case;
And canst, in conscience, not refuse,
From thy own doctrine, to raise use:‡
I know thou wilt not, for my sake,
Be tender-conscienc'd of thy back:

dependents. In the ecclesiastical constitution of that province, modelled according to Robinson's platform, there was a co-ordination of churches, not a subordination of one to another. John de Laet says, primos colonos, uti et illos qui postea accesserunt, potissimum aut omnino fuisse ex eorum hominum secta, quos in Anglia Brownistas et puritanos vocant.

* I don't know whether this was a real name, or an imitation only of North American phraseology: the appellation of an individual, or a title of office.

† The skeptics held that there was no certainty of sense; and consequently, that men did not always know when they felt any thing.

‡ A favorite expression of the sectaries of those days.

Then strip thee of thy carnal jerkin,
And give thy outward fellow a ferking;
For when thy vessel is new hoop'd,
All leaks of sinning will be stopp'd.
  Quoth Ralpho, You mistake the matter,
For in all scruples of this nature,
No man includes himself, nor turns
The point upon his own concerns.
As no man of his own self catches
The itch, or amorous French aches;
So no man does himself convince,
By his own doctrine, of his sins:
And though all cry down self, none means
His own self in a literal sense:
Besides, it is not only foppish,
But vile, idolatrous, and popish,
For one man out of his own skin
To frisk and whip another's sin;*
As pedants out of school boy's breeches
Do claw and curry their own itches.
But in this case it is profane,
And sinful too, because in vain;
For we must take our oaths upon it
You did the deed, when I have done it.
  Quoth Hudibras, That's answer'd soon;
Give us the whip, we'll lay it on.
  Quoth Ralpho, That you may swear true,
'Twere properer that I whipp'd you;
For when with your consent 'tis done,
The act is really your own.
  Quoth Hudibras, It is in vain,
I see, to argue 'gainst the grain;
Or, like the stars, incline men to
What they're averse themselves to do:
For when disputes are weary'd out,
'Tis interest still resolves the doubt:
But since no reason can confute ye,
I'll try to force you to your duty;
For so it is, howe'er you mince it;
As, e'er we part, I shall evince it,
And curry,† if you stand out, whether
You will or no, your stubborn leather.
Canst thou refuse to bear thy part

* A banter on the popish doctrine of satisfactions.
† Coria perficere: or it may be derived from the Welsh kuro, to beat or pound. This scene is taken from Don Quixote.

I' th' public work, base as thou art?
To higgle thus, for a few blows,
To gain thy Knight an op'lent spouse,
Whose wealth his bowels yearn to purchase,
Merely for th' int'rest of the churches?
And when he has it in his claws,
Will not be hide-bound to the cause:
Nor shalt thou find him a curmudgin,*
If thou dispatch it without grudging:
If not, resolve, before we go,
That you and I must pull a crow.
Ye'ad best, quoth Ralpho, as the ancients
Say wisely, have a care o' th' main chance,
And look before you, ere you leap;
For as you sow, y'are like to reap:
And were y' as good as George-a-green,†
I should make bold to turn agen:
Nor am I doubtful of the issue
In a just quarrel, as mine is so.
Is't fitting for a man of honour
To whip the saints, like Bishop Bonner?‡
A knight t' usurp the beadle's office,
For which y' are like to raise brave trophies?
But I advise you, not for fear,
But for your own sake, to forbear;
And for the churches,§ which may chance
From hence, to spring a variance,
And raise among themselves new scruples,
Whom common danger hardly couples,
Remember how in arms and politics,
We still have worsted all your holy tricks;‖
Trepann'd your party with intrigue,

* Perhaps from the French cœur méchant.

† A valiant hero, perhaps an outlaw, in the time of Richard the First, who conquered Robin Hood and Little John. He is the same with the Pinder of Wakefield. See Echard's History of England, vol. i. 226. The Old Ballads; Ben Jonson's play of the Sad Shepherd; and Sir John Suckling's Poems.

‡ Bishop of London in the reign of queen Mary: a man of profligate manners and of brutal character. He sometimes whipped the Protestants, who were in custody, with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise. Hume's History of Mary, p. 378; Fox, Acts and Monuments ed. 1576, p. 1937.

§ It was very common for the sectaries of those days, however attentive they might be to their own interest, to pretend that they had nothing in view but the welfare of the churches.

‖ The Independents and Anabaptists got the army on their side, and overpowered the Presbyterians.

And took your grandees down a peg;
New-modell'd the army, and cashier'd
All that to Legion Smec adher'd;
Made a mere utensil o' your church,
And after left it in the lurch;
A scaffold to build up our own,
And when w' had done with 't, pull'd it down;
O'er-reach'd your rabbins of the synod,
And snapp'd their canons with a why-not:*
Grave synod-men, that where rever'd
For solid face, and depth of beard,
Their classic model prov'd a maggot,
Their direct'ry an Indian pagod;†
And drown'd their discipline like a kitten,
On which they'd been so long a sitting;
Decry'd it as a holy cheat,
Grown out of date, and obsolete.
And all the saints of the first grass,‡
As casting foals of Balaam's ass.
At this the Knight grew high in chafe,§
And staring furiously on Ralph,
He trembl'd, and look'd pale with ire,
Like ashes first, then red as fire.
Have I, quoth he, been ta'en in fight,
And for so many moons lain by't,
And when all other means did fail,
Have been exchang'd for tubs of ale?‖

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* Some editions read, "capoch'd your rabbins," that is, blindfolded; but this word does not agree so well with the squire's simplicity of expression. Why-not is a fanciful term used in Butler's Remains, vol. i. p. 178: it signifies the obliging a man to yield his assent; the driving him to a non plus, when he knows not what to answer. It may resemble quidni in Latin, and τὶ μὴν in Greek.

† The directory was a book drawn up by the assembly of divines, and published by authority of parliament, containing instructions to their ministers for the regulation of public worship. One of the scribes to the assembly, who executed a great part of the work, was Adoniram Byfield, said to have been a broken apothecary. He was the father of Byfield, the salvolatile doctor.

‡ The Presbyterians, the first sectaries that sprang up and opposed the established church.

§ Talibus exarsit dictis violentia Turni.
Æneid. xi. 376.

‖ Mr. Butler, in his own note on these lines, says, "The knight "was kept prisoner in Exeter, and after several changes pro- "posed, but none accepted of, was at last released for a barrel "of ale, as he used upon all occasions to declare." It is proba-

Not but they thought me worth a ransom,
Much more consid'rable and handsome ;
But for their own sakes, and for fear
They were not safe, when I was there ;
Now to be baffled by a scoundrel,
An upstart sect'ry, and a mungrel,*
Such as breed out of peccant humours
Of our own church, like wens or tumours,
And like a maggot in a sore,
Wou'd that which gave it life devour ;
It never shall be done or said :
With that he seized upon his blade ;
And Ralpho too, as quick and bold,
Upon his basket-hilt laid hold,
With equal readiness prepar'd,
To draw and stand upon his guard ;
When both were parted on the sudden,
With hideous clamour, and a loud one,
As if all sorts of noise had been
Contracted into one loud din ;
Or that some member to be chosen,
Had got the odds above a thousand ;
And, by the greatness of his noise,
Prov'd fittest for his country's choice.
This strange surprisal put the Knight
And wrathful Squire, into a fright ;
And tho' they stood prepar'd, with fatal
Impetuous rancour to join battle,
Both thought it was the wisest course
To wave the fight, and mount to horse ;
And to secure, by swift retreating,
Themselves from danger of worse beating ;
Yet neither of them would disparage,
By utt'ring of his mind, his courage,
Which made them stoutly keep their ground,
With horror and disdain wind-bound.
And now the cause of all their fear†

ble from hence that the character of Hudibras was in some of its features drawn from Sir Samuel Luke.

* Knights errant sometimes condescended to address their squires in this polite language. Thus Don Quixote to Sancho : "How now, opprobrious rascal ! stinking garlic-eater ! sirrah, I "will take you and tie your dogship to a tree, as naked as your "mother bore you."

† The poet does not suffer his heroes to proceed to open violence ; but ingeniously puts an end to the dispute, by introducing them to a new adventure. The drollery of the following scene is inimitable.

By slow degrees approach'd so near,
They might distinguish different noise
Of horns, and pans, and dogs, and boys,
And kettle-drums, whose sullen dub
Sounds like the hooping of a tub:
But when the sight appear'd in view,
They found it was an antique shew;
A triumph, that for pomp and state,
Did proudest Romans emulate:*
For as the aldermen of Rome
Their foes at training overcome,
And not enlarging territory,
As some, mistaken, write in story,†
Being mounted in their best array,
Upon a car, and who but they?
And follow'd with a world of tall lads,
That merry ditties troll'd, and ballads,‡
Did ride with many a good-morrow,
Crying, hey for our town, thro' the borough;
So when this triumph drew so nigh,
They might particulars descry,
They never saw two things so pat,
In all respects, as this and that.
First he that led the cavalcate,
Wore a sow-gelder's flagellet,
On which he blew as strong a levet,§

* The skimmington, or procession, to exhibit a woman who had beaten her husband, is humorously compared to a Roman triumph; the learned reader will be pleased by comparing this description with the pompous account of Æmilius's triumph, as described by Plutarch, and the satirical one, as given by Juvenal in his tenth satire.

† The buildings at Rome were sometimes extended without the ceremony of describing a pomœrium, which Tacitus and Gellius declare no person to have had a right of extending, but such a one as had taken away some part of the enemy's country in war; perhaps line 596 may allude to the London trained bands. Our poet's learning and ideas here crowd upon him so fast, that he seems to confound together the ceremonies of enlarging the pomœrium, of a triumph at Rome, and other ceremonies, with a lord mayor's show, exercising the train bands, and perhaps a borough election.

‡ The vulgar, and the soldiers themselves, had at triumphal processions the liberty of abusing their general. Their invectives were commonly conveyed in metre.

Ecce Cæsar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias.
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Cæsarem.
Suetonius in Julio, 49.

§ Levet is a lesson on the trumpet, sounded morning and evening, Mr. Bacon says, on shipboard. It is derived from the

As well-feed lawyer on his brev'ate,
When over one another's heads
They charge, three ranks at once, like Sweads :*
Next pans and kettles of all keys,
From trebles down to double base ;
And after them upon a nag,
That might pass for a fore-hand stag,
A cornet rode, and on his staff,
A smock display'd did proudly wave.
Then bagpipes of the loudest drones,
With snuffling broken-winded tones ;
Whose blasts of air in pockets shut,
Sound filthier than from the gut,
And make a viler noise than swine
In windy weather, when they whine.
Next one upon a pair of panniers,
Full fraught with that which, for good manners,
Shall here be nameless, mix'd with grains,
Which he dispens'd among the swains,
And busily upon the crowd
At random round about bestow'd.
Then mounted on a horned horse,
One bore a gauntlet and gilt spurs,
Ty'd to the pommel of a long sword
He held revers'd the point turn'd downward.
Next after, on a raw-bon'd steed,
The conqueror's standard-bearer rid,
And bore aloft before the champion
A petticoat display'd, and rampant ;†
Near whom the Amazon triumphant,
Bestrid her beast, and on the rump on't
Set face to tail, and bum to bum,
The warrior whilom overcome ;
Arm'd with a spindle and a distaff,
Which, as he rode, she made him twist off ;

French reveiller, a term used for the morning trumpet among the dragoons.

* This and the proceeding lines were added by the author in 1674. He has departed from the common method of spelling the word Swedes for the sake of rhyme: in the edition of 1689, after his death, it was printed Sweeds. The Swedes appear to have been the first that practised firing by two or three ranks at a time: see Sir Robert Monro's Memoirs, and Bariff's Young Artillery-man. Mr. Cleveland, speaking of the authors of the Diurnal, says, "They write in the posture that the Swedes give "fire in, over one another's heads."

† Alluding to the terms in which heralds blazon coats of arms.

And when he loiter'd, o'er her shoulder
Chastised the reformado soldier.
Before the dame, and round about,
March'd whifflers, and staffiers on foot.*
With lackies, grooms, valets, and pages,
In fit and proper equipages;
Of whom some torches bore, some links,
Before the proud virago-minx,
That was both madam and a don,†
Like Nero's Sporus,‡ or pope Joan;
And at fit periods the whole rout
Set up their throats with clam'rous shout.
The knight transported and the squire,
Put up their weapons and their ire;
And Hudibras, who us'd to ponder,
On such sights with judicious wonder,
Could hold no longer, to impart
His animadversions, for his heart.

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* "A mighty whifler." See Shakspeare's Henry V. Act v and Hanmer's note. Vifleur, in Lord Herbert's Henry VIII Staffier, from estafette, a courier or express. [Mr. Douce in his Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. i. p. 506, says: "Some errors "have crept into the remarks on this word which require correc- "tion. It is by no means, as Hanmer had conceived, a corrup- "tion from the French *huissier*. He was apparently misled by "the resemblance which the office of a whiffler bore in modern "times to that of an usher. The term is undoubtedly borrowed "from *whiffle*, another name for a fife or small flute; for whifflers "were originally those who preceded armies or processions as "fifers or pipers. Representations of them occur among the "prints of the magnificent triumph of Maximilian I. In a note "on Othello, Act iii. sc. iii., Mr. Warton had supposed that "*whiffler* came from what he calls '*the old* French *viffleur*;' but "it is presumed that that language does not supply any such "word, and that the use of it in the quotation from Rymer's "*fœdera* is nothing more than a vitiated orthography. In *pro-* "*cess of time* the term *whiffler*, which had *always been used* in "the sense of a *fifer*, came to signify any person who went be- "fore in a procession. Minsheu, in his Dictionary, 1617, defines "him to be a club or staff-bearer."

Mr. Douce has not afforded us an instance of *whiffler* used as a *fifer*. Warton carries up the use of the word as an *huissier* to 1554, and certainly Shakspeare could have had no idea of its *piping* meaning when he wrote:

——"Behold, the English beach
"Pales in the flood with men, with wives, and boys,
"Whose shouts and claps *out-voice* the *deep-mouth'd* sea,
"Which, like a *mighty* whiffler 'fore the king,
"Seems to prepare his way:——"

The whifflers who now attend the London companies in processions are freemen carrying staves.]

† A mistress and a master.

‡ See Suetonius, in the life of Nero.

Quoth he, in all my life till now,
I ne'er saw so profane a show;
It is a paganish invention,
Which heathen writers often mention:
And he, who made it, had read Goodwin,
I warrant him, and understood him:
With all the Grecian Speeds and Stows,*
That best describe those ancient shows;
And has observ'd all fit decorums
We find describ'd by old historians:†
For, as the Roman conqueror,
That put an end to foreign war,
Ent'ring the town in triumph for it,
Bore a slave with him in his chariot;‡
So this insulting female brave
Carries behind her here a slave:
And as the ancients long ago,
When they in field defy'd the foe,
Hung out their mantles della guerre,§
So her proud standard-bearer here,
Waves on his spear, in dreadful manner,
A Tyrian petticoat for banner.
Next links and torches, heretofore
Still borne before the emperor:

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* Speed and Stowe wrote chronicles or annals of England, and are well known English antiquaries. By Grecian Speeds and Stows, he means, any ancient authors who have explained the antiquities and customs of Greece: the titles of such books were often, τὰ πατριὰ, of such a district or city. Thus Dicæarchus wrote a book entitled, περὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος βίου, wherein he gave the description of Greece, and of the laws and customs of the Grecians: our poet likewise might allude to Pausanias.

† The reader will, perhaps, think this an awkward rhyme; but the very ingenious and accurate critic, Dr. Loveday, to whom, as well as to his learned father, I cannot too often repeat my acknowledgments, observes in a letter with which he honored me, that in English, to a vulgar ear, unacquainted with critical disquisitions on sounds, m and n sound alike. So the old sayings, among the common people taken for rhyme:

A stich in time
Saves nine.
Tread on a worm,
And it will turn.

Frequent instances of the propriety of this remark occur in Hudibras; for example: men and them, exempt and innocent.

‡ —— curru servus portatur eodem. Juv. Sat. x. 42

§ Tunica coccinea solebat pridie quam dimicandum esset suprà prætorium poni, quasi admonitio et indicium futuræ pugnæ Lipsius in Tacit.

And, as in antique triumphs, eggs
Were borne for mystical intrigues;*
There's one, with truncheon, like a ladle,
That carries eggs too, fresh or adle:
And still at random, as he goes,
Among the rabble-rout bestows.
Quoth Ralpho, You mistake the matter;
For all th' antiquity you smatter
Is but a riding us'd of course,
When the grey mare's the better horse;
When o'er the breeches greedy women
Fight, to extend their vast dominion,
And in the cause impatient Grizel
Has drubb'd her husband with bull's pizzle.
And brought him under covert-baron,
To turn her vassal with a murrain;
When wives their sexes shift, like hares,†
And ride their husbands like night-mares;
And they, in mortal battle vanquish'd,
Are of their charter disenfranchis'd,
And by the right of war, like gills,‡
Condemn'd to distaff, horns, and wheels:
For when men by their wives are cow'd,
Their horns of course are understood.
Quoth Hudibras, Thou still giv'st sentence
Impertinently, and against sense:

* In the orgies of Bacchus, and the games of Ceres, eggs were carried and had a mystical import. See Banier, vol. i. b. ii. c. 5, and Rosinus, lib. v. c. 14. Pompa producebatur cum deorum signis et ovo. In some editions it is printed *antick*, and means mimic.

† Many have been the vulgar errors concerning the sexes and copulation of hares: but they being of a very timid and modest nature, seldom couple but in the night. It is said that the doe hares have tumors in the groin, like the castor, and that the buck hares have cavities like the hyena. Besides, they are said to be retromingent, which occasioned the vulgar to make a confusion in the sexes. When huntsmen are better anatomists and philosophers, we shall know more of this matter. See Brown's Vulgar Errors, b. iii. c. 27. But our poet here chiefly means to ridicule Dr. Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, p. 407, who mentions the female patriarch of Greece, and pope Joan of Rome, and likewise the boy Sporus, who was married to the emperor Nero: upon which it was justly said by some, that it had been happy for the empire, if Domitius, his father, had had none other but such a wife. See what Herodotus says concerning the men of Scythia, in his Thalia.

‡ Gill, scortillum, a common woman: in the Scots and Irish dialect a girl; there never was a Jack but there was a Gill. See Kelly's Scotch Proverbs, page 316. See also Chaucer's Miller's Tale, and Gower, Confess. Amant. and G. Douglas's Prologue, page 452.

'Tis not the least disparagement
To be defeated by th' event,
Nor to be beaten by main force;
That does not make a man the worse,
Altho' his shoulders, with battoon,
Be claw'd, and cudgell'd to some tune;
A tailor's prentice has no hard
Measure, that's bang'd with a true yard;
But to turn tail, or run away,
And without blows give up the day;
Or to surrender ere the assault,
That's no man's fortune, but his fault;
And renders men of honour less
Than all th' adversity of success;
And only unto such this shew
Of horns and petticoats is due.
There is a lesser profanation,
Like that the Romans call'd ovation:*
For as ovation was allow'd
For conquest purchas'd without blood;
So men decree those lesser shows
For vict'ry gotten without blows,
By dint of sharp hard words, which some
Give battle with, and overcome;
These mounted in a chair-curule,
Which moderns call a cucking stool,†
March proudly to the river side,
And o'er the waves in triumph ride;
Like dukes of Venice, who are said
The Adriatic sea to wed;‡
And have a gentler wife than those
For whom the state decrees those shows.§

* At the greater triumph the Romans sacrificed an ox: at the lesser a sheep. Hence the name ovation. Plutarch, in the life of Marcellus, "Ovandi, ac non triumphandi causa est, quum aut "bella non rite indicta neque cum justo hoste gesta sunt; aut "hostium nomen humile et non idoneum est, ut servorum, pirata-"rumque; aut deditione repente facta, impulverea, ut dici solet, "incruentaque victoria obvenit." Aulus Gellius, v. 6.

† The custom of ducking a scolding woman in the water, was common in many places. I remember to have seen a stool of this kind near the bridge at Evesham in Worcestershire, not above eight miles from Strensham, the place of our poet's birth. The etymology of the term I know not: some suppose it should be written choking-stool, others ducking-stool, and others derive it from the French, coquine.

‡ This ceremony is performed on Ascension-day. The doge throws a ring into the sea, and repeats the words, "Desponsa-"mus te, mare, in signum veri et perpetui dominii."

§ Than the Roman worthies, who were honored with ova

But both are heathenish, and come
From th' whores of Babylon and Rome,
And by the saints should be withstood
As antichristian and lewd;
And we, as such should now contribute
Our utmost strugglings to prohibit.
This said, they both advanc'd, and rode
A dog-trot through the bawling crowd
T' attack the leader, and still prest
'Till they approach'd him breast to breast:
Then Hudibras, with face and hand,
Made signs for silence;* which obtain'd,
What means, quoth he, this devil's procession
With men of orthodox profession?
'Tis ethnique and idolatrous,
From heathenism deriv'd to us.
Does not the whore of Bab'lon ride
Upon her horned beast astride,†
Like this proud dame, who either is
A type of her, or she of this?
Are things of superstitious function,
Fit to be us'd in gospel sun-shine?
It is an antichristian opera
Much us'd in midnight times of popery;
A running after self-inventions
Of wicked and profane intentions;
To scandalize that sex for scolding,
To whom the saints are so beholden.
Women, who were our first apostles,‡

---

tions. Mr. Butler intimates that the sea is less terrible than a scolding wife.

* Ergo ubi commota fervet plebecula bile,
Fert animus calidæ fecisse silentia turbæ
Majestate manus. Persius, Sat. iv. 6.

† See Revelation, xvii. 3.

‡ The author of the Ladies' Calling observes, in his preface, 'It is a memorable attestation Christ gives to the piety of women, by making them the first witnesses of his resurrection, the "prime evangelists to proclaim these glad tidings; and, as a "learned man speaks, apostles to the apostles." Some of the Scotch historians maintain, that Ireland received Christianity from a Scotch woman, who first instructed a queen there. But our poet, I suppose, alludes to the zeal which the ladies showed for the *good cause*. The case of Lady Monson was mentioned above. The women and children worked with their own hands, in fortifying the city of London, and other towns. The women of the city went by companies to fill up the quarries in the great park, that they might not harbor an enemy; and being called together with a drum, marched into the park with mattocks and spades. Annals of Coventry, MS. 1643.

Without whose aid w' had all been lost else ;
Women, that left no stone unturn'd
In which the cause might be concern'd ;
Brought in their children's spoons and whistles,*
To purchase swords, carbines, and pistols :
Their husbands, cullies, and sweethearts,
To take the saints' and churches' parts ;
Drew several gifted brethren in,
That for the bishops would have been,
And fix'd them constant to the party,
With motives powerful and hearty :
Their husbands robb'd and made hard shifts
T' administer unto their gifts†
All they could rap, and rend and pilfer,
To scraps and ends of gold and silver :
Rubb'd down the teachers, tir'd and spent
With holding forth for parliament ;‡
Pamper'd and edify'd their zeal
With marrow puddings many a meal :
Enabled them, with store of meat,
On controverted points to eat ;§
And cramm'd them till their guts did ache
With caudle, custard, and plum-cake.
What have they done, or what left undone,
That might advance the cause at London ?
March'd rank and file, with drum and ensign,
T' entrench the city for defence in :

* In the reign of Richard II., A. D. 1382, Henry le Spencer, bishop of Norwich, set up the cross, and made a collection to support the cause of the enemies of pope Clement. Collegerat dictus episcopus innumerabilem et incredibilem summam pecuniæ auri et argenti, atque jocalium, monilium, annulorum, discorum, peciarum, cochiarium, et aliorum ornamentorum, et præcipue de dominabus et aliis mulieribus. Decem Scriptores, p 1671. See also South, v. 33.

† Thus, A. Cowley, in his Puritan and Papist :

She that can rob her husband, to repair
A budget priest that noses a long prayer.

‡ Dr. Echard in his Works, says of the preachers of those times—" coiners of new phrases, drawers out of long godly " words, thick pourers out of texts of Scripture, mimical squeak- " ers and bellowers, vain-glorious admirers only of themselves, " and those of their own fashioned face and gesture : such as " these shall be followed, shall have their bushels of China " oranges, shall be solaced with all manner of cordial essences, " and shall be rubb'd down with Holland of ten shillings an ell."

§ That is, to eat plentifully of such dainties, of which they would sometimes controvert the lawfulness to eat at all. See P. 1. c. i. v. 225, and the following lines. Mr. Bacon would read the last word *treat*.

Rais'd rampires with their own soft hands,*
To put the enemy to stands;
From ladies down to oyster-wenches
Labour'd like pioneers in trenches,
Fell to their pick-axes, and tools,
And help'd the men to dig like moles?
Have not the handmaids of the city
Chose of their members a committee,
For raising of a common purse,
Out of their wages, to raise horse?
And do they not as triers sit,
To judge what officers are fit?
Have they———At that an egg let fly,
Hit him directly o'er the eye,
And running down his cheek, besmear'd,
With orange-tawny slime, his beard;
But beard and slime being of one hue,
The wound the less appear'd in view.
Then he that on the panniers rode,
Let fly on th' other side a load,
And quickly charg'd again, gave fully,
In Ralpho's face, another volley.
The knight was startled with the smell,
And for his sword began to feel;
And Ralpho, smother'd with the stink,
Grasp'd his, when one that bore a link,
O' th' sudden clapp'd his flaming cudgel,
Like linstock, to the horse's touch-hole;†
And straight another with his flambeau,
Gave Ralpho, o'er the eyes, a damn'd blow.
The beasts began to kick and fling,
And forc'd the rout to make a ring;
Thro' which they quickly broke their way,
And brought them off from further fray;
And tho' disorder'd in retreat,
Each of them stoutly kept his seat:
For quitting both their swords and reins,

* When London was expected to be attacked, and in several sieges during the civil war, the women, and even the ladies of rank and fortune, not only encouraged the men, but worked with their own hands. Lady Middlesex, Lady Foster, Lady Anne Waller, and Mrs. Dunch, have been particularly celebrated for their activity. The knight's learned harangue is here archly interrupted by the manual wit of one who hits him in the eye with a rotten egg.

† Linstock is a German word, signifying the rod of wood or iron, with a match at the end of it, used by gunners in firing cannon. See P. i. c. ii. v. 843.

They grasp'd with all their strength the manes;
And, to avoid the foe's pursuit,
With spurring put their cattle to't,
And till all four were out of wind,
And danger too, ne'er look'd behind.
After they'ad paus'd a while, supplying
Their spirits, spent with fight and flying,
And Hudibras recruited force
Of lungs, for actions or discourse.
  Quoth he, That man is sure to lose
That fouls his hands with dirty foes:
For where no honour's to be gain'd,
'Tis thrown away in being maintain'd:
'Twas ill for us, we had to do
With so dishon'rable a foe:
For tho' the law of arms doth bar
The use of venom'd shot in war,*
Yet by the nauseous smell, and noisome,
Their case-shot savours strong of poison;
And, doubtless, have been chew'd with teeth
Of some that had a stinking breath;
Else when we put it to the push,
They had not giv'n us such a brush:
But as those poltroons that fling dirt,
Do but defile, but cannot hurt;
So all the honour they have won,
Or we have lost, is much at one.
'Twas well we made so resolute
A brave retreat, without pursuit;
For if we had not, we had sped
Much worse, to be in triumph led;
Than which the ancients held no state
Of man's life more unfortunate.
But if this bold adventure e'er
Do chance to reach the widow's ear,
It may, being destin'd to assert
Her sex's honour, reach her heart:
And as such homely treats, they say,
Portend good fortune,† so this may.
Vespasian being daub'd with dirt,
Was destin'd to the empire for't;‡

* "Abusive language, and fustian, are as unfair in controversy "as poisoned arrows or chewed bullets in battle."

† The original of the coarse proverb here alluded to, was the glorious battle of Azincourt, when the English were so afflicted with the dysentery that most of them chose to fight naked from the girdle downward.

‡ Suetonius, in the life of Vespasian, sect. v., says, "Cum

And from a scavenger did come
To be a mighty prince in Rome:
And why may not this foul address
Presage in love the same success?
Then let us straight, to cleanse our wounds,
Advance in quest of nearest ponds;
And after, as we first design'd,
Swear I've perform'd what she enjoin'd.

"ædilem eum C. Cæsar (i. e. Caligula) succensens, luto jussisset "oppleri, congesto per milites in prætextæ sinum; non defuerunt "qui interpretarentur, quandoque proculcatam desertamque rem- "publicam civili aliqua perturbatione in tutelam ejus, ac velut "in gremium deventuram." But Dio Cassius, with all his superstition, acknowledges that the secret meaning of the circumstances was not discovered till after the event. Mr. Butler might here allude to a story which has been told of Oliver Cromwell, afterwards lord protector. When young, he was invited by Sir Oliver Cromwell, his uncle and god-father, to a feast at Christmas; and, indulging his love for fun, he went to the ball with his hands and clothes besmeared with excrement, to the great disgust of the company: for which the master of misrule, or master of the ceremonies as he is now called, ordered him to be ducked in the horse-pond. Memoirs of the Cromwell Family by Mark Noble, vol. i. p. 98, and Bate's Elench. motuum.

PART II. CANTO III.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Knight, with various doubts possest,
To win the Lady goes in quest
Of Sidrophel the Rosy-crucian,
To know the dest'nies' resolution:
With whom being met, they both chop logic
About the science astrologic.
'Till falling from dispute to fight,
The conjurer's worsted by the Knight.

HUDIBRAS.

CANTO III.*

Doubtless the pleasure is as great
Of being cheated, as to cheat ;†
As lookers-on feel most delight,
That least perceive a juggler's flight,
And still the less they understand,
The more th' admire his slight of hand.
Some with a noise, and greasy light,
Are snapt, as men catch larks by night,‡
Ensnar'd and hamper'd by the soul,
As nooses by the legs catch fowl.§
Some, with a med'cine, and receipt,
Are drawn to nibble at the bait ;‖

* As the subject of this canto is the dispute between Hudibras and an astrologer, it is prefaced by some reflections on the credulity of men. This exposes them to the artifices of cheats and impostors, not only when disguised under the characters of lawyers, physicians, and divines, but even in the questionable garb of wizards and fortune-tellers.

† Swift, in the Tale of a Tub, (digression on madness,) places happiness in the condition of being well deceived, and pursues the thought through several pages. Aristippus being desired to resolve a riddle, replied, that it would be absurd to resolve that which unresolved afforded so much pleasure.

—— cui sic extorta voluptas,
Et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.
Hor. lib. ii. epist. ii. 140.

‡ This alludes to the morning and evening lectures, which, in those times of pretended reformation and godliness, were delivered by candle-light, in many churches, for a great part of the year. To maintain, and frequent these, was deemed the greatest evidence of religion and sanctity. The gifted preachers were very loud. The simile is taken from the method of catching larks at night in some countries, by means of a low-bell and a light.

§ Woodcocks, and some other birds, are caught in springes.

‖ Are cheated of their money by quacks and mountebanks, who boast of nostrums and infallible receipts. Even persons who ought to have more discernment are sometimes taken in by these cozeners. In later times, the admirers of animal magnet

And tho' it be a two-foot trout,
'Tis with a single hair pull'd out.*
Others believe no voice t' an organ
So sweet as lawyer's in his bar-gown,†
Until, with subtle cobweb-cheats,
They're catch'd in knotted law, like nets;
In which, when once they are imbrangled,
The more they stir, the more they're tangled;
And while their purses can dispute,
There's no end of th' immortal suit.
Others still gape t' anticipate
The cabinet designs of fate,‡
Apply to wizards, to foresee
What shall, and what shall never be;§
And as those vultures do forebode,‖
Believe events prove bad or good.
A flam more senseless than the roguery
Of old aruspicy and aug'ry,¶
That out of garbages of cattle

---

ism would probably have ranked with this order of wiseacres, and been proper objects of Mr. Butler's satire.

* That is, though it be a sensible man, and one as unlikely to be catched by a medicine and a receipt, as a trout two feet long to be pulled out by a single hair.

† In the hope of promised success many are led into broils and suits, from which they are not able to extricate themselves till they are quite ruined. See Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxx. cap. 4, where the evil practices of the lawyers under Valens and Valentinian, are strongly and inimitably painted: happy would it be for the world, if the picture had not its likeness in modern times, but was confined to the decline of the Roman empire.

‡ A natural desire; but if too much indulged, a notable instance of human weakness.

§ O Lăertiade, quicquid dicam aut erit, aut non.
Divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.
Horat. Sat. lib. ii. Sat. v. v. 59.

‖ Vultures, birds of prey, are here put figuratively for astrologers: or the word may be used equivocally, as soothsayers took their omens from eagles, vultures, ravens, and such birds.

¶ Aruspicy was a kind of divination by sacrifice; by the behavior of the beast before it was slain; by entrails after it was opened; or by the flames while it was burning. Augury was a divination from appearances in the heavens, from thunder, lightning, &c., but more commonly from birds, their flight, chattering, manner of feeding, &c. Thus Ovid:

Hæc mihi non ovium fibræ, tonitrusve sinistri,
Linguave servatæ, pennave, dixit avis.
Ovid. Trist. lib. i. eleg. viii. 49.

Mirari se ajebat M. Cato, quod non rideret haruspex, harus picem cum vidisset. Tullius de Divinat. ii. 24; et de Natura Deorum i. 26.

Presag'd th' events of truce or battle;
From flight of birds, or chickens pecking,
Success of great'st attempts would reckon:
Tho' cheats, yet more intelligible
Than those that with the stars do fribble.
This Hudibras by proof found true,
As in due time and place we'll shew:
For he, with beard and face made clean,
Being mounted on his steed again,
And Ralpho got a cock-horse too,
Upon his beast, with much ado,
Advanc'd on for the widow's house,
T' acquit himself, and pay his vows;
When various thoughts began to bustle,
And with his inward man to justle.
He thought what danger might accrue,
If she should find he swore untrue:
Or if his squire or he should fail,
And not be punctual in their tale,
It might at once the ruin prove
Both of his honour, faith, and love
But if he should forbear to go,
She might conclude he'ad broke his vow;
And that he durst not now, for shame,
Appear in court to try his claim.
This was the penn'worth of his thought,
To pass time, and uneasy trot.
Quoth he, In all my past adventures
I ne'er was set so on the tenters,
Or taken tardy with dilemma,
That, ev'ry way I turn, does hem me,
And with inextricable doubt,
Besets my puzzled wits about:
For though the dame has been my bail,
To free me from enchanted jail,
Yet, as a dog committed close
For some offence, by chance breaks loose,
And quits his clog; but all in vain,
He still draws after him his chain:*

* Persius applies this simile to the case of a person who is well inclined, but cannot resolve to be uniformly virtuous.

Nec tu, cum obstiteris semel, instantique negaris
Parere imperio, rupi jam vincula, dicas:
Nam et luctata canis nodum arripit; attamen illi,
Cum fugit, a collo trahitur pars longa catenæ.
Sat. V. v. 157.

So tho' my ancle s ie as quitted,
My heart continues still committed;
And like a bail'd and mainpriz'd lover,*
Altho' at large, I am bound over:
And when I shall appear in court
To plead my cause, and answer for't,
Unless the judge do partial prove,
What will become of me and love?
For if in our accounts we vary,
Or but in circumstance miscarry;
Or if she put me to strict proof,
And make me pull my doublet off,
To shew, by evident record,
Writ on my skin, I've kept my word.
How can I e'er expect to have her,
Having demurr'd unto her favour?
But faith, and love, and honour lost,
Shall be reduc'd t' a knight o' th' post:†
Beside, that stripping may prevent
What I'm to prove by argument,
And justify I have a tail,
And that way, too, my proof may fail.
Oh! that I could enucleate,‡
And solve the problems of my fate;
Or find, by necromantic art,§
How far the dest'nies take my part;

Yet triumph not; say not, my bands are broke.
And I no more go subject to the yoke;
Alas! the struggling dog breaks loose in vain,
Whose neck still drags along a trailing length of chain.
Brewster.

Petrarch has applied this simile to love, as well as our author.

* Mainprized signifies one delivered by the judge into the custody of such as shall undertake to see him forthcoming at the day appointed.

† This is, one who in court, or before a magistrate, will swear as he hath been previously directed. I have somewhere read that such persons formerly plied about the portico in the Temple, and from thence were called knights of the *post*; and knights, perhaps, from the knights templars being buried in the adjoining church. [A hireling evidence: a knight dubbed at the whipping-post, or pillory. Johnson's Dictionary by Todd.]

‡ Explain, or open; an expression taken from the cracking of a nut.

§ Necromancy, or the black art, as it is vulgarly called, is the faculty of revealing future events, from consultation with demons, or with departed spirits. It is called the black art, because the ignorant writers of the middle age, mistaking the etymology, write it nigromantia: or because the devil was painted black.

For if I were not more than certain
To win and wear her, and her fortune,
I'd go no farther in this courtship,
To hazard soul, estate and worship:
For tho' an oath obliges not,
Where any thing is to be got,*
As thou hast prov'd, yet 'tis profane,
And sinful, when men swear in vain.
Quoth Ralph, Not far from hence doth dwell
A cunning man, hight Sidrophel,†
That deals in destiny's dark counsels,
And sage opinions of the moon sells,‡
To whom all people far and near,
On deep importances repair:
When brass and pewter hap to stray,
And linen slinks out of the way;
When geese and pullen are seduc'd,§
And sows of sucking pigs are chows'd;
When cattle feel indisposition,
And need the opinion of physician;
When murrain reigns in hogs or sheep,
And chickens languish of the pip;
When yeast and outward means do fail,
And have no pow'r to work on ale;
When butter does refuse to come,‖
And love proves cross and humoursome;

* The notions of the dissenters with regard to this, and other points of a like nature, are stated more at large in some preceding cantos.

† Some have thought that the character of Sidrophel was intended for Sir Paul Neal; but the author, probably, here meant it for William Lilly, the famous astrologer and almanac maker, who at times sided with the parliament. He was consulted by the royalists, with the king's privity, whether the king should escape from Hampton-court, whether he should sign the propositions of the parliament, &c., and had twenty pounds for his opinion. See the life of A. Wood, Oxford, 1772, pp. 101, 102, and his own life, in which are many curious particulars. Till the king's affairs declined he was a cavalier, but after the year 1645 he engaged body and soul in the cause of the parliament: he was one of the close committee to consult about the king's execution. At the latter end of his life he resided at Hersham, in the parish of Walton-upon-Thames, practised physic, and went often to Kingston to attend his patients. But probably the most profitable trade of Dee, Kelly, Lilly, and others of that class, was that of spies, which they were for any country or party that employed them. *Hight*, that is called, from the A. S. hatan, to call.

‡ i. e. the omens which he collects from the appearance of the moon.

§ Pullen, that is, poultry.

‖ When a country wench, says Mr. Selden in his Table Talk,

To him with questions, and with urine,
They for discov'ry flock, or curing.
Quoth Hudibras, This Sidrophel
I've heard of, and shou'd like it well,
If thou canst prove the saints have freedom
To go to sorc'rers when they need 'em.*
Says Ralpho, There's no doubt of that;
Those principles I've quoted late,
Prove that the godly may allege
For any thing their privilege,
And to the devil himself may go,
If they have motives thereunto:
For as there is a war between
The dev'l and them, it is no sin
If they, by subtle stratagem,†
Make use of him, as he does them.
Has not this present parl'ament
A ledger to the devil sent,‡
Fully empower'd to treat about
Finding revolted witches out?§
And has not he, within a year,
Hang'd threescore of 'em in one shire?‖
Some only for not being drown'd,
And some for sitting above ground,
Whole days and nights upon their breeches,
Not feeling pain, were hang'd for witches;
And some for putting knavish tricks
Upon green geese and turkey-chicks,
Or pigs, that suddenly deceast,
Of griefs unnat'ral, as he guest;

---

cannot get her butter to come, she says the witch is in the churn.

* It was a question much agitated about the year 1570, Utrum liceat homini christiano sortiariorum operâ et auxilio uti.

† Dolus an Virtus, quis in hoste requirat?

‡ That is, an ambassador. The person meant was Hopkins, the noted witch-finder for the associated counties.

§ That is, revolted from the parliament.

‖ It is incredible what a number of poor, sick, and decrepit wretches were put to death, under the pretence of their being witches. Hopkins occasioned threescore to be hung in one year, in the county of Suffolk. See Dr. Hutchinson, p. 59. Dr. Grey says, he has seen an account of between three and four thousand that suffered, in the king's dominions, from the year 1640 to the king's restoration. "In December, 1649," says Whitelock, "many "witches were apprehended. The witch-trier taking a pin, and "thrusting it into the skin in many parts of their bodies; if they "were insensible of it, it was a circumstance of proof against "them. October, 1652, sixty were accused: much malice, little "proof: though they were tortured many ways to make them "confess."

Who after prov'd himself a witch,
And made a rod for his own breech *
Did not the dev'l appear to Martin
Luther in Germany for certain ?†
And wou'd have gull'd him with a trick,
But Mart was too, too politick
Did he not help the Dutch to purge,
At Antwerp, their cathedral church ?‡
Sing catches to the saints at Mascon,§
And tell them all they came to ask him?
Appear in divers shapes to Kelly,‖
And speak i' th' nun of Loudon's belly ?¶

* Dr. Hutchinson, in his Historical Essay on Witchcraft, page 66, tells us, "that the country, tired of the cruelties committed by "Hopkins, tried him by his own system. They tied his thumbs "and toes, as he used to do others, and threw him into the water; "when he swam like the rest."

† Luther, in his book de Missâ privatâ, says he was persuaded to preach against the mass by reasons suggested to him by the devil, in a disputation. Melchior Adamus says the devil appeared to Luther in his own garden, in the shape of a black boar. And the Colloquia mensalia relate, that when Luther was in his chamber, in the castle at Wurtsburgh, the devil cracked some nuts which he had in a box upon the bed-post, tumbled empty barrels down stairs, &c.

‡ In the beginning of the civil war in Flanders, the common people at Antwerp broke open the cathedral church, and destroyed the ornaments. Strada, in his book de Bello Belgico, says, that "several devils were seen to assist them; without whose "aid it would have been impossible, in so short a time, to have "done so much mischief."

§ Mascon is a town in Burgundy, where an unclean devil, as he was called, played his pranks in the house of Mr. Perreand, a reformed minister, ann. 1612. Sometimes he sang psalms, at others bawdy verses. Mr. Perreand published a circumstantial account of him in French, which at the request of Mr. Boyle, who had heard the matter attested by Perreand himself, was translated into English by Dr. Peter de Moulin. The poet calls them saints, because they were of the Geneva persuasion.

‖ See Notes to lines 235-7-8. It may be proper to observe that the persons here instanced had made more than ordinary pretensions to sanctity, or bore some near relation to religion. On this circumstance Ralpho founds his argument for the lawfulness of the practice, that saints may converse with the devil. Dr. Casaubon informs us that Dee, who was associated with Kelly, employed himself in prayer and other acts of devotion, before he entered upon his conversation with spirits. "Oratione dominicâ "finitâ, et morâ aliqua interpositâ, et aliquot ex psalterio precibus "recitatis."

¶ Sir Kenelm Digby, in his Treatise on the Sympathetic Powder, says, "I could make a notable recital of such passions that "happened to the nuns at Loudon; but having done it in a par- "ticular discourse, at my return from that country, in which I "as exactly as I could, discussed the point, I will forbear speak- "ing thereof at this time." Grandier, the curate of London, was ordered to be burned alive, A. D. 1634, by a set of judges commissioned and influenced by Richelieu; and the prioress, with

Meet with the parl'ament's committee,
At Woodstock, on a pers'nal treaty ?*
At Sarum take a cavalier,†
I' th' cause's service, prisoner?
As Withers, in immortal rhyme,
Has register'd to after-time.
Do not our great reformers use
This Sidrophel to forebode news;‡
To write of victories next year,
And castles taken, yet i' th' air?
Of battles fought at sea, and ships
Sunk, two years hence, the last eclipse ?§

---

half the nuns in the convent, were obliged to own themselves bewitched. The prioress declared, that when the devil who had possessed her had quitted her body, an angel impressed upon her hand the words Jesus Maria Joseph F de Salis. Mr. Moconnois made her a long visit, and she showed him the letters. He scratched off a part of them, and supposed them to have been made with blood and starch. Grandier was a handsome man, and very eloquent. Such magic had fascinated the prioress, and subjected the nuns to their violent ardors. See Bayle's Dictionary, Art. Grandier; and Dr. Hutchinson's Historical Essay on Witchcraft, p. 36.

* Dr. Plot, in his History of Oxfordshire, ch. viii., tells us how the devil, or some evil spirit, disturbed the commissioners at Woodstock, whither they went to value the crown lands, October, 1649.* A personal treaty was very much desired by the king, and often pressed and petitioned for by great part of the nation. The poet insinuates, that though the parliament refused to hold a personal treaty with the king, yet they scrupled not to hold one with the devil at Woodstock. [Readers, of all ages and classes of the present day, are familiar with the devil's pranks at WOODSTOCK, through the agency of that great and fascinating magician Walter Scott, who, following the mighty Shakspeare, makes poetry and romance the two entertaining substitutes for the more "honest" chronicles of history. He has also introduced us to the Lescus of line 238 in his romance of Kenilworth.]

† Withers has a long story, in doggerel verse, of a soldier of the king's army, who being a prisoner at Salisbury, and drinking a health to the devil upon his knees, was carried away by him through a single pane of glass.

‡ Lilly, Booker, Culpepper, and others, were employed to foretel victories on the side of the parliament. Lilly was a time-serving rascal, who hesitated at no means of getting money. See his life, written by himself.

§ Suppose we read *since* the last eclipse, or suppose we point it thus:

Sunk two years since the last eclipse:

Lilly grounded lying predictions on that event. Dr. Grey says his reputation was lost upon the false prognostic on the eclipse

* See the Just Devil of Woodstock, or a true narrative of the several Apparitions, the Frights and Punishments inflicted upon the rumpish Commissioners, by Thomas Widows, master of the free school at Northleach, Gloucestershire. It was not printed till 1660, though the date put to it is 1649. See Bishop of Peterborough's Register and Chronicle

A total o'erthrow giv'n the king
In Cornwall, horse and foot, next spring?*
And has not he point-blank foretold
Whats'e'er the close committee would?
Made Mars and Saturn for the cause,†
The Moon for fundamental laws,
The Ram, the Bull, the Goat, declare
Against the book of common prayer?
The Scorpion take the protestation,
And Bear engage for reformation;
Made all the royal stars recant,
Compound, and take the covenant?‡
Quoth Hudibras, The case is clear
The saints may 'mploy a conjurer,
As thou hast proved it by their practice;
No argument like matter of fact is:
And we are best of all led to
Men's principles, by what they do.
Then let us strait advance in quest
Of this profound gymnosophist,§
And as the fates and he advise,
Pursue, or wave this enterprise.
This said, he turn'd about his steed,
And eftsoons on th' adventure rid:
Where leave we him and Ralph awhile,
And to the Conj'rer turn our style,

---

that was to happen on the 29th of March, 1652, commonly called Black Monday, in which his predictions not being fully answered, Mr. Heath observes, (Chronicle, p. 210:, "That he was regarded no more for the future, than one of his own worthless almanacs."

* It is certain that the parliament, in their reports of victories, neither observed time or place. Cleveland, in his character of a London diurnal, p. 113, says of Lord Stamford: "This cubit and half of a commander, by the help of a diurnal, routed the enemies fifty miles off." The subject here is not false reports, but false predictions: the direct contrary happened to what is here said; the king overthrew the parliamentarians in Cornwall.

† Made the planets and constellations side with the parliament; or, as bishop Warburton observes, the planets and signs here recapitulated may signify the several leaders of the parliamentary army—Essex, Fairfax, and others.

‡ The author here evidently alludes to Charles, elector palatine of the Rhine, and to king Charles the Second, who both took the covenant.

§ The gymnosophists were a sect of philosophers in India, so called from their going naked. They were much respected for their profound knowledge; and held in the same estimation among their countrymen as the Chaldæi among the Assyrians, the Magi among the Persians, and the Druids among the Gauls and Britons

To let our reader understand
What's useful of him beforehand.
He had been long t'wards mathematics,
Optics, philosophy, and statics,
Magic, horoscopy, astrology,
And was old dog at physiology;
But as a dog, that turns the spit,*
Bestirs himself and plies his feet
To climb the wheel, but all in vain,
His own weight brings him down again;
And still he's in the self-same place
Where at his setting out he was:
So in the circle of the arts
Did he advance his nat'ral parts,
Till falling back still, for retreat,
He fell to juggle, cant, and cheat:†
For as those fowls that live in water
Are never wet, he did but smatter;
Whate'er he labour'd to appear,
His understanding still was clear;‡
Yet none a deeper knowledge boasted,
Since old Hodge Bacon, and Bob Grosted.§
Th' intelligible world he knew,‖
And all men dream on't to be true,
That in this world there's not a wart

---

* Mr. Prior's simile seems to have been suggested by this passage:

Dear Thomas, didst thou never see
('Tis but by way of simile)
A squirrel spend his little rage
In jumping round a rolling cage?
But here or there, turn wood or wire,
He never gets two inches higher.
So fares it with those merry blades
That frisk it under Pindus' shades.

† The account here given of William Lilly agrees exactly with his life written by himself.

‡ Clear, that is, empty.

§ Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar, flourished in the thirteenth century. His penetration in most branches of philosophy was the wonder of the age. Bayle says he wrote a hundred books, many of them upon astronomy, geometry, and medicine. Robert Grosted, or Grossa Testa, lived nearly at the same time with Bacon. He wrote some treatises on astronomy and mathematics; but his works were chiefly theological. Several books were translated by him from the Greek language; which if any understood in that age, he was sure, as Erasmus says, to be taken for a conjuror.

‖ The intelligible world is spoken of, by some persons, as the model or prototype of the visible world. See P. i. c. i. v. 535, and note.

That has not there a counterpart
Nor can there, on the face of ground,
An individual beard be found
That has not in that foreign nation,
A fellow of the self-same fashion;
So cut, so colour'd, and so curl'd,
As those are in th' inferior world.
He'ad read Dee's prefaces before
The devil and Euclid o'er and o'er;*
And all th' intrigues 'twixt him and Kelly,
Lescus and th' emperor, wou'd tell ye:†
But with the moon was more familiar

* Dr. John Dee, a Welshman, was admitted to the degree of M. A. and had a testimonial from the university of Cambridge in 1548. He was presented by Edward VI. to the living of Upton upon Severn, in Worcestershire, in the year 1552, when John Harley was made bishop of Hereford. He gained great fame at the time of Elizabeth and James I., by his knowledge in mathematics; Tycho Brahe gives him the title of præstantissimus mathematicus; and Camden calls him nobilis mathematicus. He wrote a preface to Euclid, and to Billingsley's Geometry, Epistola præfixa Ephemeridi Johannis Felde, 1557; Epistola ad Commandinum præfixa libello de superficiorum divisionibus, 1570; and perhaps in the whole not less than fifty treatises. He began early to have the reputation of a conjuror; of which he grievously complains in his preface to Euclid. This report, and his pretended transactions with spirits, gave the poet occasion to call it Dee's preface before the devil.

† Kelly was born at Worcester, and bred to the business of an apothecary there, about the year 1555. Sometimes he is called Talbot. He was a famous alchymist, and Dee's assistant, his seer or skryer, as he calls him. Uriel, one of their chief spirits, was the promoter of this connection. Soon after a learned Polonian, Albert Alaski, prince of Sirad, whom Mr. Butler calls Lescus, came into England, formed an acquaintance with Dee and Kelly, and, when he left this country, took them and their families with him into Poland. Next to Kelly, he was the greatest confidant of Dee in his secret transactions. Camden speaks of this Lescus in his Annals, 1583. "E Polonia Russiæ vicina, "hac ætate venit in Angliam Albertus Alasco, Palatinus Siradi-"ensis vir eruditus, barba promisissima," &c. From Poland, Dee and Kelly, after some time, removed to Prague. They were entertained by the emperor Rodolph II., disclosed to him some of their chymical secrets, and showed him the wonderful stone. The emperor, in return, treated them with great respect. Kelly was knighted by him, but afterwards imprisoned; and he died in 1587. Dee had received some advantageous offers, it is said, from the king of France, the emperor of Muscovy, and several foreign princes. Perhaps he had given them some specimens of his service in the capacity of a spy. However, he returned to England, and died very poor, at Mortlake in Surrey, in the year 1608, aged 81. —— *wou'd tell ye*:—In the author's edition it is printed, "would *not* tell ye." To raise the greater opinion of his knowledge, he would pretend to make a secret of things which he did not understand.

Than e'er was almanac well-willer;* 240
Her secrets understood so clear,
That some believ'd he had been there;
Knew when she was in fittest mood
For cutting corns, or letting blood;†
When for anointing scabs and itches, 245
Or to the bum applying leeches;
When sows and bitches may be spay'd,
And in what sign best cider's made;
Whether the wane be, or increase,
Best to set garlic, or sow pease; 250
Who first found out the man i' th' moon,
That to the ancients was unknown;
How many dukes, and earls, and peers,
Are in the planetary spheres,
Their airy empire, and command, 255
Their sev'ral strengths by sea and land;
What factions they've, and what they drive at
In public vogue, or what in private;
With what designs and interests
Each party manages contests. 260
He made an instrument to know
If the moon shine at full, or no;
That would, as soon as e'er she shone, straight
Whether 'twere day or night demonstrate;
Tell what her d'ameter to an inch is, 265
And prove that she's not made of green cheese.
It wou'd demonstrate, that the man in
The moon's a sea mediterranean;‡
And that it is no dog nor bitch
That stands behind him at his breech, 270

* The almanac makers styled themselves well-willers to the mathematics, or philomaths.

† Respecting these and other matters mentioned in the following lines, Lilly and the old almanac makers gave particular directions. It appears from various calendars still preserved, not to mention the works of Hesiod, and the apotelesms of Manetho, Maximus, and Julius Firmicus, that astrologers among the Greeks and Romans conceived some planetary hours to be especially favorable to the operations of husbandry and physic.

‡ The light of the sun being unequally reflected, and some parts of the moon appearing more fully illuminated than others, on the supposition of the moon's being a terraqueous globe, it is thought that the brighter parts are land, and the darker water This instrument, therefore, would give a more distinct view of those dusky figures, which had vulgarly been called the man in the moon, and discover them to be branches of the sea. In the Selenography of Florentius Langrenus Johannes Hevelius, and others, the dark parts are distinguished by the names of mare crisium, mare serenitatis, oceanus procellarum, &c.

But a huge Caspian sea or lake,
With arms, which men for legs mistake;
How large a gulph his tail composes,
And what a goodly bay his nose is;
How many German leagues by th' scale,
Cape snout's from promontory tail.
He made a planetary gin,
Which rats would run their own heads in,
And come on purpose to be taken
Without th' expence of cheese or bacon;
With lute-strings he would counterfeit
Maggots, that crawl on dish of meat;*
Quote moles and spots on any place
O' th' body, by the index face;†
Detect lost maidenheads by sneezing,‡
Or breaking wind of dames, or pissing;
Cure warts and corns, with application
Of med'cines to th' imagination;
Fright agues into dogs, and scare,
With rhymes, the tooth-ach and catarrh;§
Chase evil spirits away by dint

* The small strings of a fiddle or lute, cut into short pieces, and strewed upon warm meat, will contract, and appear like live maggots.

† "Some physiognomers have conceited the head of man to "be the model of the whole body; so that any mark there will "have a corresponding one on some part of the body." See Lilly's life.

‡ Democritus is said to have pronounced more nicely on the maid servant of Hippocrates. "Puellæque vitium solo aspectu "deprehendit." Yet the eyes of Democritus were scarcely more acute and subtle than the ears of Albertus Magnus: "nec minus "vocis mutationem ob eandem fere causam: quo tantum signo "ferunt Albertum Magnum, ex museo suo, puellam, ex vinopolio "vinum pro hero deportantem, in itinere vitiatam fuisse deprehendisse; quòd, in reditu subinde, cantantis ex acutâ in gravi-"orem mutatam vocem agnovisset." Gasper a Reies, in elysio jucund. quæstion. campo. Lilly professed this art, and said no woman, that he found a maid, ever twitted him with his being mistaken.

§ Butler seems to have raked together many of the baits for human credulity which his reading could furnish, or he had ever heard mentioned. These charms for tooth-ache and coughs were well known to the common people a few years since. The word *abracadabra*, for fevers, is as old as Sammonicus. *Haut haut hista pista vista*, were recommended for a sprain by Cato. [Cato prodidit luxatis membris carmen auxiliare. Plin. Hist. Nat xxviii.] Homer relates, that the sons of Autolycus stopped the bleeding of Ulysses's wound by a charm. See Odyss xix. 457, and Barnes' Notes and Scholia:

—— ἐπαοιδῇ δ' αἷμα κελαινὸν
Ἔσχεθον.

Of sickle, horseshoe, hollow flint;*
Spit fire out of a walnut-shell,
Which made the Roman slaves rebel;†
And fire a mine in China here,
With sympathetic gunpowder.
He knew whatsoever's to be known,
But much more than he knew would own.
What med'cine 'twas that Paracelsus
Could make a man with, as he tells us;‡
What figur'd slates are best to make,
On wat'ry surface duck or drake;§
What bowling-stones, in running race
Upon a board, have swiftest pace;
Whether a pulse beat in the black
List of a dappled louse's back;‖

---

* These concave implements, particularly the horse-shoe, we have often seen nailed to the threshold of doors in the country, in order to chase away evil spirits.

† Lucius Florus, Livy, and other historians, give the following account of the origin of the servile war. There was a great number of slaves in Sicily, and one of them, a Syrian, called Eunus, encouraged his companions, at the order of the gods, as he said, to free themselves by arms. He filled a nutshell with fire and sulphur, and holding it in his mouth, breathed out flames, when he spoke to them, in proof of his divine commission. By this deception he mustered more than 40,000 persons.

‡ That philosopher, and others, thought that man might be generated without connection of the sexes. See this idea ridiculed by Rabelais, lib. ii. ch. 27. "Et celeberrimus Athanasius "Kircherus, libro secundo mundi subterranei præclare et solidis "rationibus, refutavit stultitiam nugatoris Paracelsi, qui (de gen-"erat. rerum naturalium, lib. i.) copiose admodum docere voluit "ridiculam methodum generandi homunciones in vasis chemi-"corum." P. 38, Franc. Redi de generat. insectorum. The poet probably had in view Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, who at page 490, gives a full account of this matter, both from Paracelsus and others.

§ The poet, by mentioning this play of children, means to intimate that Sidrophel was a smatterer in natural philosophy, knew something of the laws of motion and gravity, though all he arrived at was but childish play, no better than making ducks and drakes.

‖ See Sparrmann's Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, vol. ii. p. 291. It was the fashion with the wits of our author's time to ridicule the transactions of the Royal Society. Mr. Butler here indulges his vein by bantering their microscopic discoveries. At present every one must be inclined to adopt the sentiment of Cowley:

> Mischief and true dishonor fall on those
> Who would to laughter or to scorn expose
> So virtuous and so noble a design,
> So human for its use, for knowledge so divine.
> The things which these proud men despise, and call
> Impertinent, and vain, and small,

If systole or diastole move
Quickest when he's in wrath, or love ;*
When two of them do run a race,
Whether they gallop, trot, or pace ;
How many scores a flee will jump,
Of his own length, from head to rump,†
Which Socrates and Chærephon
In vain assay'd so long agone ;
Whether his snout a perfect nose is,
And not an elephant's proboscis ;‡
How many diff'rent specieses
Of maggots breed in rotten cheeses ;
And which are next of kin to those
Engendered in a chandler's nose ;
Or those not seen, but understood,
That live in vinegar and wood.§
A paltry wretch he had, half starv'd,

Those smallest things of nature let me know,
Rather than all their greatest actions do !

The learned and ingenious Bishop Hurd delivers his opinion of this passage in two lines from Pope :

But sense survived when merry jests were past,
For rising merit will buoy up at last.

* Systole the contraction, and diastole the dilatation, of the heart, are motions of that organ by means of which the circulation of the blood is effected. The passions of the mind have a sensible influence on the animal economy. Some of them, fear and sorrow, chill the blood and retard its progress. Other passions, and especially anger and love, accelerate its motion, and cause the pulse to beat with additional strength and quickness.

† Aristophanes, in his comedy of the Clouds, Act i. sc. 2, introduces a scholar of Socrates describing the method in which Socrates, and his friend Chærephon, endeavored to ascertain how many lengths of his own feet a flea will jump.—*ψύλλαν ὁπόσους ἁλλοιτο τοὺς αὐτης πόδας*, quot pedes suos pulex saltaret. They did not measure, as our author says, by the length of the body ; they dipped the feet of the flea in melted wax, which presently hardened into shoes ; these they took off, and measured the leap of the flea with them. It is probable that this representation had been received with pleasure by the enemies of Socrates. In the banquet of Xenophon the subject is taken up by one of the company : *ἀλλ' εἶπέ μοι, πόσους ψύλλα πόδας ἅμοῦ ἀπέχει. ταῦτα γὰρ σε φασὶ γεωμετρεῖν*—and is dismissed by Socrates with a kind of cool contempt. Plato somewhere alludes to the same jest. A flea had jumped from the forehead of Chærephon to the head of Socrates, which introduced the inquiry.

‡ Microscopic inquirers tell us that a flea has a proboscis, somewhat like that of an elephant, but not quite so large.

§ The pungency of vinegar is said, by some, to arise from the bites of animalcules which are contained in it. For these discoveries see Hook's micographical observations.

That him in place of Zany serv'd,*
Hight Whachum, bred to dash and draw,
Not wine, but more unwholesome law ;
To make 'twixt words and lines huge gaps,†
Wide as meridians in maps ;
To squander paper, and spare ink,
Or cheat men of their words, some think
From this by merited degrees
He'd to more high advancement rise,
To be an under-conjurer,
Or journeyman astrologer :
His bus'ness was to pump and wheedle,
And men with their own keys unriddle ;‡
To make them to themselves give answers,
For which they pay the necromancers ;
To fetch and carry intelligence
Of whom, and what, and where, and whence,
And all discoveries disperse
Among th' whole pack of conjurers ;
What cut-purses have left with them,
For the right owners to redeem,
And what they dare not vent, find out,
To gain themselves and th' art repute ;
Draw figures, schemes, and horoscopes,

* A Zany is a buffoon, or Merry Andrew, designed to assist the quack, as the ballad-singer does the cut-purse or pickpocket. Some have supposed this character of Whachum to have been intended for one Tom Jones, a foolish Welshman. Others think it was meant for Richard Green, who published a pamphlet entitled "Hudibras in a snare." The word zany is derived by some from the Greek σαννας, a fool, τζαννος ; (see Eustath. ad. Odyss. xxii. and Meursii Glossar. Græco-barb.,) by others from the Venetian Zani, abbreviated from giovanni.

† As the way of lawyers is in their bills and answers in chancery, where they are paid so much a sheet.

‡ Menckenius, in his book de Charlataneria Eruditorum, ed Amst. 1747, p. 192, tells this story : Jactabat empiricus quidam, se ex solo urinæ aspectu non solum de morbis omnibus, sed et de illorum causis, quæcunque demum illæ fuerint, sive natura, sive sors tulisset, certissime cognoscere ; interim ille ita instruxerat servulos suos, ut callide homines ad se accedentes explorarent, et de his, quæ comperta haberent, clam ad se referrent.—Accedit mulier paupercula cum lotio mariti, quo vix viso, maritus tuus, inquit, per scalas domus infausto casu decidit. Tum illa admirabunda, istudne, ait, ex urina intelligis ? Imo vero, inquit empiricus, et nisi me omnia fallunt, per quindecim scalæ gradus delapsus est. At cum illa, utique viginti se numerasse referret, hic velut indignatus quærit : num omnem secum urinam attulisset : atque, illa negante, quod vasculum materiam omnem non caperet : itaque, ait, effudisti cum urina quinque gradus illos, qui mihi ad numerum deerant.—I wonder this story escaped Dr, Grey

Of Newgate, Bridewell, brokers' shops,
Of thieves ascendant in the cart,*
And find out all by rules of art:
Which way a serving-man, that's run
With clothes or money away, is gone;
Who pick'd a fob at holding-forth,
And where a watch, for half the worth,
May be redeem'd; or stolen plate
Restor'd at conscionable rate.
Beside all this, he serv'd his master
In quality of poetaster,
And rhymes appropriate could make
To ev'ry month i' th' almanack;
When terms begin, and end, could tell,
With their returns, in doggerel;
When the exchequer opes and shuts,
And sowgelder with safety cuts;
When men may eat and drink their fill,
And when be temp'rate, if they will;
When use, and when abstain from vice,
Figs, grapes, phlebotomy, and spice.
And as in prisons mean rogues beat
Hemp for the service of the great,†
So Whachum beat his dirty brains
T' advance his master's fame and gains,
And like the devil's oracles,
Put into dogg'rel rhymes his spells,‡
Which, over ev'ry month's blank page
I' th' almanack, strange bilks presage.§
He would an elegy compose
On maggots squeez'd out of his nose;
In lyric numbers write an ode on
His mistress, eating a black-pudding;
And, when imprison'd air escaped her,
It puft him with poetic rapture:
His sonnets charm'd th' attentive crowd,
By wide-mouth'd mortal troll'd aloud,
That, circled with his long-ear'd guests,

* Ascendant, a term in astrology, is here equivocal.

† Petty rogues in Bridewell pound hemp; and it may happen that the produce of their labor is employed in halters, in which greater criminals are hanged.

‡ Plutarch has a whole treatise to discuss the question, why Apollo had ceased to deliver his oracles in verse: which brings on an incidental inquiry why his language was often bad, and his verses defective.

§ Bilk is a Gothic word, signifying a cheat or fraud: it signifies likewise to baulk or disappoint

Like Orpheus, lock'd among the beasts:
A carman's horse could not pass by,
But stood ty'd up to poetry:
No porter's burden pass'd along,
But serv'd for burden to his song:
Each window like a pill'ry appears,
With heads thrust thro' nail'd by the ears;
All trades run in as to the sight
Of monsters, or their dear delight,
The gallow-tree,* when cutting purse
Breeds bus'ness for heroic verse,
Which none does hear, but would have hung
T' have been the theme of such a song.†
Those two together long had liv'd,
In mansion, prudently contriv'd,
Where neither tree nor house could bar
The free detection of a star;
And nigh an ancient obelisk
Was rais'd by him, found out by Fisk,
On which was written not in words,
But hieroglyphic mute of birds,‡
Many rare pithy saws, concerning§
The worth of astrologic learning:

---

* Thus Cleveland, in his poem entitled the Rebel Scot:

A Scot when from the gallow-tree got loose,
Drops into Styx, and turns a Soland goose.

† The author perhaps recollected some lines in Sir John Denham's poem on the trial and death of the earl of Strafford:

Such was his force of eloquence, to make
The hearers more concern'd than he that spake;
Each seem'd to act that part he came to see,
And none was more a looker on than he;
So did he move our passions, some were known
To wish, for the defence, the crime their own.

When Mars and Venus were surprised in Vulcan's net, and the deities were assembled to see them, Ovid says:

—— aliquis de dis non tristibus optet
Sic fieri turpis—— Metamorph. lib. iv. 187.

‡ Fisk was a quack physician and astrologer of that time, and an acquaintance of William Lilly, the almanac maker and prognosticator. "In the year 1663," says Lilly in his own life, "I "became acquainted with Nicholas Fisk, licentiate in physic, "born in Suffolk, fit for, but not sent to, the university. Studying at home astrology and physic, which he afterwards practised at Colchester:" He had a pension from the parliament; and during the civil war, and the whole of the usurpation, prognosticated on that side. [*Mute.* The dung of birds. Todd in his edition of Johnson, with this passage quoted.]

§ Pithy, that is, nervous, witty, full of sense and meaning, like a proverb. Saw that is, say, or saying, from A. S. Douglas

From top of this there hung a rope,
To which he fasten'd telescope ;*
The spectacles with which the stars
He reads in smallest characters.
It happened as a boy, one night,
Did fly his tarsel of a kite,†
The strangest long-wing'd hawk that flies
That, like a bird of Paradise,
Or herald's martlet, has no legs,‡
Nor hatches young ones, nor lays eggs ;
His train was six yards long, milk white,
At th' end of which there hung a light,
Enclos'd in lanthorn made of paper,

---

applies it to any saying, (p. 143, v. 52,) and once in a bad sense to indecent language:

Nu rist with sleath, and many unseemly saw
Quhare schame is loist. P. 90, v. 15.

* Refracting telescopes were formerly so constructed as to require such an awkward apparatus. Hugenius invented a telescope without a tube. The object glass was fixed to a long pole, and its axis directed towards any object by a string, which passed down from the glass above to the eye-glass below. He presented to the Royal Society an object glass of one hundred and twenty-three feet focal distance, with an apparatus belonging to it, which he had made himself. It is described in his Astrocopia compendiaria tubi optici molimine liberata, Hague, 1684.

† Tiersel, or tiercelet, as the French call the male hawk, which is less in the body by a third part than the female, from whence it hath the name. Lord Bacon says it is stronger and more courageous than the female.

‡ The bird of Paradise, or the Pica Paradisæa of Linnæus. The manucodiata of Edwards and Ray. The Portuguese first saw them in Gilolo, Papua, and New Guinea: many idle fables have been propagated concerning these birds, among which are to be reckoned, that they have no feet, pass their lives in the air and feed on that element: but it is found that the feet are cut off, that the birds may dry the better, and the scapular feathers prevent their sitting on trees in windy weather. Naturalists describe many species, but the Paradisæa apodo, or greater bird of Paradise is generally about two feet in length. See Latham, Syn. ii. 47. Index, i. 164, and Essay on India, by John Reinhold Forster, p. 17. Martlets are painted by the heralds without legs, or with very short ones, scarcely visible. In Le Blanc's Travels, p. 115, we are told of the birds of Paradise, that they are kept in a cage in the Sultan's garden, and are thought by Europeans to have no legs. Lord Bacon has the following passage in his Works, fol. vol. iv. p. 325: "The second reason "that made me silent was, because this suspicion and rumour "of undertaking settles upon no person certain: it is like the "birds of paradise, that they have in the Indies, that have no "feet, and therefore never light upon any place, but the wind "carries them away. And such a thing I take this rumour to "be." Pliny, in his Natura History, has a chapter de Apodibus, lib. x ch. 39.

That fat off like a star did appear:
This Sidrophel by chance espy'd,
And with amazement staring wide:
Bless us, quoth he, what dreadful wonder
Is that appears in heaven yonder?
A comet, and without a beard!
Or star, that ne'er before appear'd!
I'm certain 'tis not in the scrowl
Of all those beasts, and fish, and fowl,*
With which, like Indian plantations,
The learned stock the constellations;†
Nor those that, drawn for signs, have been
To th' houses where the planets inn.‡
It must be supernatural,
Unless it be that cannon-ball
That, shot i' the air, point-blank upright,
Was borne to that prodigious height,
That, learn'd philosophers maintain,
It ne'er came backwards down again,§
But in the airy regions yet
Hangs, like the body o' Mahomet:‖

---

* Astronomers, for the help of their memory, and to avoid giving names to every star in particular, have divided them into constellations or companies, which they have distinguished by the names of several beasts, birds, fishes, &c., as they fall within the compass which the forms of these creatures reach to. Butler, in his Genuine Remains, vol. i. page 9, says:

> Since from the greatest to the least,
> All other stars and constellations
> Have cattle of all sorts of nations.

This distribution of the stars is very ancient. Tully mentions it from Aratus, in nearly the same terms which are used in our astronomical tables. The divisions are called houses by the astrologers.

† Cosmographers, in their descriptions of the world, when they found many vast places, whereof they knew nothing, are used to fill the same with an account of Indian plantations, strange birds, beasts, &c. So historians and poets, says Plutarch, embroider and intermix the tales of ancient times with fictions and fabulous discoveries.

‡ Signs, a pun between signs for public houses, and signs or constellations in the heavens. Aratus and Eratosthenes.—The Catasterismoi of the latter, printed at the end of Fell's Aratus, are nearly as old as Aratus himself. See also Hall's Virgidemiarum, book ii. Sat. vii. v. 29.

§ Some foreign philosophers directed a cannon against the zenith; and, having fired it, could not find where the ball fell; from whence it was conjectured to have stuck in the moon. Des Cartes imagined that the ball remained in the air.

‖ The improbable story of Mahomet's body being suspended in an iron chest, between two great loadstones, is refuted by Mr Sandys and Dr. Prideaux.

For if it be above the shade,
That by the earth's round bulk is made,
'Tis probable it may from far,
Appear no bullet, but a star.
This said, he to his engine flew,
Plac'd near at hand, in open view,
And rais'd it, till it levell'd right
Against the glow-worm tail of kite ;*
Then peeping thro', Bless us! quoth he,
It is a planet now I see ;
And, if I err not, by his proper
Figure, that's like tobacco-stopper,†
It should be Saturn: yes, 'tis clear
'Tis Saturn ; but what makes him there?
He's got between the Dragon's tail,
And farther leg behind o' th' Whale ;‡
Pray heav'n divert the fatal omen,
For 'tis a prodigy not common,
And can no less than the world's end,
Or nature's funeral, portend.
With that, he fell again to pry
Thro' perspective more wistfully,
When, by mischance, the fatal string,
That kept the tow'ring fowl on wing,
Breaking, down fell the star. Well shot,
Quoth Whachum, who right wisely thought
He' ad levell'd at a star, and hit it ;
But Sidrophel, more subtle-witted,
Cry'd out, What horrible and fearful
Portent is this, to see a star fall!
It threatens nature, and the doom
Will not be long before it come!

* The luminous part of the glow-worm is the tail.

† This alludes to the symbol which astronomers use to denote the planet Saturn (♄), and astrologers use a sign not much unlike it. It is no wonder Sidrophel should be puzzled to know for certain whether it was Saturn or not, as the phases of Saturn are very various and extraordinary, and long perplexed the astronomers, who could not divine the meaning of such irregularity: thus Hevelius observes, that he appears sometimes *monospherical*, sometimes *trispherical*, *spherico-ansated*, *elliptico-ansated*, and *spherico-cuspidated*; but Huygens reduced all these phases to three principal ones, *round*, *brachiated*, and *ansated*. See Chambers's Dictionary, art. Saturn.

‡ Sidrophel, the star-gazer, names any two constellations he can think of: or rather the poet designs to make him blunder, by fixing on those which are far distant from each other, on different sides of the equator; and also by talking of the whale's hinder leg. On some old globes the whale is described with legs.

When stars do fall, 'tis plain enough
The day of judgment's not far off;
As lately 'twas reveal'd to Sedgwick,*
And some of us find out by magick:
Then, since the time we have to live
In this world's shorten'd, let us strive
To make our best advantage of it,
And pay our losses with our profit.
This feat fell out not long before
The Knight, upon the forenam'd score.
In quest of Sidrophel advancing,
Was now in prospect of the mansion;
Whom he discov'ring, turn'd his glass,
And found far off 'twas Hudibras.
Whachum, quoth he, Look yonder, some
To try or use our art are come:
The one's the learned Knight; seek out,
And pump 'em what they come about.
Whachum advanc'd, with all submiss'ness
T' accost 'em, but much more their business:
He held the stirrup, while the Knight
From leathern bare-bones did alight;
And, taking from his hand the bridle,
Approach'd the dark Squire to unriddle.
He gave him first the time o' th' day,†
And welcom'd him, as he might say:
He ask'd him whence they came, and whither
Their business lay? Quoth Ralpho, Hither.
Did you not lose?‡—Quoth Ralpho, Nay.
Quoth Whachum, Sir, I meant your way?
Your Knight—Quoth Ralpho, Is a lover,
And pains intol'rable doth suffer;
For lovers' hearts are not their own hearts,
Nor lights, nor lungs, and so forth downwards.

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* Will. Sedgwick was a whimsical fanatic preacher, settled by the parliament in the city of Ely. He pretended much to revelations, and was called the apostle of the Isle of Ely. He gave out that the approach of the day of judgment had been disclosed to him in a vision: and going to the house of Sir Francis Russel, in Cambridgeshire, where he found several gentlemen, he warned them all to prepare themselves, for the day of judgment would be some day in the next week.

† He bade him good evening: see line 540.

‡ He supposes they came to inquire after something stolen or strayed; the usual case with people when they apply to the cunning man. In these lines we must observe the artfulness of Whachum, who pumps the squire concerning the knight's business, and afterwards relates it to Sidrophel in the presence of both of them.

What time?—Quoth Ralpho, Sir, too long,
Three years it off and on has hung—
Quoth he, I meant what time o' th' day 'tis.
Quoth Ralpho, between seven and eight 'tis,
Why then, quoth Whachum, my small art
Tells me the Dame has a hard heart,
Or great estate. Quoth Ralph, A jointure,
Which makes him have so hot a mind t' her.
Mean-while the Knight was making water,
Before he fell upon the matter:
Which having done, the Wizard steps in,
To give him a suitable reception;
But kept his business at a bay,
Till Whachum put him in the way;
Who having now, by Ralpho's light,
Expounded th' errand of the Knight,
And what he came to know, drew near,
To whisper in the Conj'rer's ear,
Which he prevented thus: What was't,
Quoth he, that I was saying last,*
Before these gentlemen arriv'd?
Quoth Whachum, Venus you retriev'd,
In opposition with Mars,
And no benign and friendly stars
T' allay the effect.† Quoth Wizard, So:
In Virgo? ha! Quoth Whachum, No:†
Has Saturn nothing to do in it;§
One tenth of's circle to a minute!
'Tis well, quoth he—Sir you'll excuse
This rudeness I am forc'd to use;
It is a scheme, and face of heaven,
As th' aspects are dispos'd this even,

* To prevent the suspicion which might be created by whispering, he causes Whachum to relate his intelligence aloud, in the cant terms of his own profession.

† There should be no comma after the word retriev'd; it here signifies found, observed, from the French retrouver. Venus, the goddess of love, opposes and thwarts Mars, the god of war, and there is likely to be no accord between them. By which he gives him to understand, that the knight was in love, and had small hopes of success.

‡ Is his mistress a virgin? No.

§ Saturn, Κρόνος, was the god of time. The wizard by these words inquires how long the love affair had been carried on. Whachum replies, one tenth of his circle to a minute, or three years; one tenth of the thirty years in which Saturn finishes his revolution, and exactly the time which the knight's courtship had been pending.

I was contemplating upon
When you arriv'd; but now I've done.
Quoth Hudibras, If I appear
Unseasonable in coming here
At such a time, to interrupt
Your speculations, which I hop'd
Assistance from, and come to use,
'Tis fit that I ask your excuse.
By no means, Sir, quoth Sidrophel,
The stars your coming did foretel;
I did expect you here, and knew,
Before you spake, your business too.*
Quoth Hudibras, Make that appear,
And I shall credit whatsoe'er
You tell me after, on your word,
Howe'er unlikely, or absurd.
You are in love, Sir, with a widow,
Quoth he, that does not greatly heed you,
And for three years has rid your wit
And passion, without drawing bit;
And now your business is to know
If you shall carry her, or no.
Quoth Hudibras, You're in the right,
But how the devil you come by't
I can't imagine; for the stars,
I'm sure, can tell no more than a horse:
Nor can their aspects, tho' you pore
Your eyes out on 'em, tell you more
Than th' oracle of sieve and sheers,†
That turns as certain as the spheres:
But if the Devil's of your counsel,
Much may be done, my noble donzel;‡

* In some editions we read, *Know* before you *speak*.

† "Put a paire of sheeres in the rim of a sieve, and let two "persons set the tip of each of their forefingers upon the upper "part of the sheers, holding it with the sieve up from the ground "steddilie, and ask Peter and Paul whether A. B. or C. hath "stolne the thing lost, and at the nomination of the guilty per-"son the sieve will turn round." Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft, book xii. ch. xvii. p. 262. The κοσκινόμαντις, or diviner by a sieve, is mentioned by Theocritus Idyll. iii. 31 The Greek practice differed very little from that which has been stated above. They tied a thread to the sieve, or fixed it to a pair of shears, which they held between two fingers. After addressing themselves to the gods, they repeated the names of the suspected persons; and he, at whose name the sieve turned round, was adjudged guilty. Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. i. p. 352.

‡ A sneering kind of appellation: donzel being a diminutive from don. Butler says, in his character of a squire of Dames,

And 'tis on this account I come,
To know from you my fatal doom.
Quoth Sidrophel, If you suppose,
Sir Knight, that I am one of those,
I might suspect and take the alarm,
Your business is but to inform:*
But if it be, 'tis ne'er the near,
You have a wrong sow by the ear;
For I assure you, for my part,
I only deal by rules of art;
Such as are lawful, and judge by
Conclusions of astrology;
But for the devil; know nothing by him,
But only this, that I defy him.
Quoth he, Whatever others deem ye,
I understand your metonymy;†
Your words of second-hand intention,‡
When things by wrongful names you mention;

(vol. ii. p. 379,) "he is donzel to the damzels, and gentleman "usher daily waiter on the ladies, that rubs out his time in ma- "king legs and love to them." The word is likewise used in Ben Jonson's Alchymist. ["*Donzel del Phebo.* A celebrated "hero of romance in the Mirror of Knighthood, &c. *Donzel* is "from the Italian, *donzello*, and means a squire, or young man; "or, as Florio says, 'A damosell, a bacheler,' &c. He seems al- "ways united with Rosiclear.

"Defend thee powerfully, marry thee sumptuously, and keep "thee in despite of Rosiclear or *Donzel del Phebo*.

"Malcontent, O. Pl. iv. 92.

"*Donzel del Phebo* and Rosicleer! are you there?

"The Bird in a Cage, O. Pl. viii. 248.

"So the Captain in Philaster calls the citizens in insurrection "with him, 'My dear *Donsels:*' and presently after, when Phi- "laster appears salutes him by the title of

"——My royal Rosiclear!

"We are thy myrmidons, thy guards, thy roarers.

"Philaster, v. p. 166-7."—Nares's Glossary.]

* At that time there was a severe inquisition against conjurers, witches, &c. See the note on line 143. In Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvi. p. 666, is a special pardon from king James to Simon Read, for practising the black art. It is entitled, De Pardonatione pro Simone Read de Invocatione, et Conjuratione Cacodæmonum. He is there said to have invoked certain wicked spirits in the year 1608, in the parish of St. George, Southwark, particularly one such spirit called Heavelon, another called Faternon, and a third called Cleveton.

† Metonymy is a figure of speech, whereby the cause is put for the effect, the subject for the adjunct.

‡ Terms of second intention, among the schoolmen, denote ideas which have been arbitrarily adopted for purposes of science in opposition to those which are connected with sensible objects.

The mystic sense of all your terms,
That are indeed but magic charms
To raise the devil, and mean one thing,
And that is downright conjuring;
And in itself more warrantable* 595
Than cheat or canting to a rabble,
Or putting tricks upon the moon,
Which by confed'racy are done.
Your ancient conjurers were wont
To make her from her sphere dismount,† 600
And to their incantations stoop;
They scorn'd to pore thro' telescope,
Or idly play at bo-peep with her,
To find out cloudy or fair weather,
Which ev'ry almanac can tell 605
Perhaps as learnedly and well
As you yourself—Then, friend, I doubt
You go the furthest way about:
Your modern Indian magician
Makes but a hole in th' earth to piss in,‡ 610
And straight resolves all questions by't,
And seldom fails to be i' th' right.
The Rosy-crucian way's more sure
To bring the devil to the lure;
Each of 'em has a several gin, 615
To catch intelligences in.§
Some by the nose, with fumes, trepan 'em,
As Dunstan did the devil's grannam.‖

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* The knight has no faith in astrology; but wishes the conjurer to own plainly that he deals with the devil, and then he will hope for some satisfaction from him. To show what may be done in this way, he recounts the great achievements of sorcerers.

† So the witch Canidia boasts of herself in Horace:

Polo
Deripere lunam vocibus possim meis.

The ancients frequently introduced this fiction. See Virgil, Eclogue viii. 69. Ovid's Metamorphoses, vii. 207? Propertius, book i. elegy i. 19 and Tibullus, book i. elegy ii. 44.

‡ "The king presently called to his Bongi to clear the air; the conjuror immediately made a hole in the ground, wherein he urined." Le Blanc's Travels, p. 98. The ancient Zabii used to dig a hole in the earth, and fill it with blood, as the means of forming a correspondence with demons, and obtaining their favor.

§ To secure demons or spirits.

‖ The chymists and alchymists. In the Remains of Butler, vol. ii. p. 235, we read: "These spirits they use to catch by the noses with fumigations, as St. Dunstan did the devil, by a pair of tongs." The story of St. Dunstan taking the devil by the nose with a pair of hot pincers, has been frequently related. St. Dunstan lived

Others with characters and words
Catch 'em, as men in nets do birds ;*
And some with symbols, signs, and tricks,
Engrav'd in planetary nicks,†
With their own influences will fetch 'em
Down from their orbs, arrest, and catch 'em ;‡
Make 'em depose, and answer to
All questions, e'er they let them go.
Bombastus kept a devil's bird
Shut in the pummel of his sword,§
That taught him all the cunning pranks
Of past and future mountebanks.
Kelly did all his feats upon
The devil's looking glass, a stone,‖

---

in the tenth century: was a great admirer and proficient in the polite arts, particularly painting and sculpture. As he was very attentively in his cell engraving a gold cup, the devil tempted him in the shape of a beautiful woman. The saint, perceiving in the spirit who it was, took up a red hot pair of tongs, and catching hold of the devil by the nose, made him howl in such a terrible manner as to be heard all over the neighborhood.

* By repetition of magical sounds and words, properly called enchantments.

† By figures and signatures described according to astrological symmetry; that is, certain conjunctions or oppositions with the planets and aspects of the stars.

‡ Carmina vel cœlo possunt deducere lunam.

§ Bombastus de Hohenheim, called also Aurelius Philippus, and Theophrastus, but more generally known by the name of Paracelsus, was son of William Hohenheim, and author, or rather restorer, of chymical pharmacy. He ventured upon a free administering of mercury and laudanum; and performed cures, which, in those days of ignorance, were deemed supernatural. He entertained some whimsical notions concerning the antediluvian form of man, and man's generation. Mr. Butler's note on this passage is in the following words: "Paracelsus is said to "have kept a small devil prisoner in the pummel of his sword; "which was the reason, perhaps, why he was so valiant in his "drink. However, it was to better purpose than Hannibal carried "poison in his sword, to dispatch himself if he should happen to "be surprised in any great extremity: for the sword would have "done the feat alone much better and more soldier-like. And it "was below the honor of so great a commander to go out of the "world like a rat."

‖ Dr. Dee had a stone, which he called his angelical stone, pretending that it was brought to him by an angel: and "by a "spirit it was, sure enough," says Dr. M. Casaubon. We find Dee himself telling the emperor "that the angels of God had "brought to him a stone of that value, that no earthly kingdom "is of that worthiness, as to be compared to the virtue or digni "ty thereof."* It was large, round, and very transparent; and persons who were qualified for the sight of it, were to perceive various shapes and figures, either represented in it as in a look-

* See Casaubon's relation of what passed between Dr. Dee and some spirits printed at London, 1659.

Where, playing with him at bo-peep,
He solv'd all problems ne'er so deep.
Agrippa kept a Stygian pug,
I' th' garb and habit of a dog,*

ing-glass, or standing upon it as on a pedestal. This stone is now in the possession of the very learned and ingenious earl of Orford, at Strawberry-hill.* It appears to be a volcanic production, of the species vulgarly called the black Iceland agate, which is a perfectly vitrified lava; and according to Bergman's analysis, contains of siliceous earth sixty-nine parts in a hundred; argillaceous twenty-two parts and martial nine. See Berg. Opusc. vol. iii. p. 240, and Letters from Iceland, lett. 25. The lapis obsidianus of the ancients is supposed to have been of this species: a stone, according to Pliny, "quem in Æthiopia invenit "Obsidius, nigerrimi coloris aliquando et translucidi, crassiore "visu, atque in speculis parietum pro imagine umbras reddente." Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. cap. 26. The same kind of stone is found also in South America; and called by the Spaniards, from its color, piedra de gallinaco. The poet might term it the devil's looking-glass, from the use which Dee and Kelly made of it; and because it has been the common practice of conjurers to answer the inquiries of persons, by representations shown to them in a looking-glass. Dr. M. Casaubon quotes a passage to this purpose from a manuscript of Roger Bacon, inscribed De dictis et factis falsorum mathematicorum et dæmonum. "The "demons sometimes appear to them really, sometimes imaginari-"ly in basins and polished things, and shew them whatever "they desire. Boys, looking upon these surfaces, see by imagi-"nation, things that have been stolen; to what places they have "been carried; what persons took them away: and the like." In the proœmium of Joach. Camerarius to Plutarch De Oraculis, we are told that a gentleman of Nurimberg had a crystal which had this singular virtue, viz., if any one desired to know any thing past or future, let a young man, castum, or who was not of age, look into it; he would first see a man, so and so apparelled, and afterwards what he desired. We meet with a similar story in Heylin's History of the Reformation, part iii. The earl of Hertford, brother to queen Jane Seymour, having formerly been employed in France, acquainted himself there with a learned man, who was supposed to have great skill in magic. To this person, by rewards and importunities, he applied for information concerning his affairs at home; and his impertinent curiosity was so far gratified, that by the help of some magical perspective, he beheld a gentleman in a more familiar posture with his wife than was consistent with the honor of either party. To this diabolical illusion he is said to have given so much credit, that he not only estranged himself from her society at his return, but furnished a second wife with an excellent reason for urging the disinherison of his former children. The ancients had also the Λιθομαντεία.

* "As Paracelsus had a devil confined in the pummel of his "sword, so Agrippa had one tied to his dog's collar," says Erastus. It is probable that the collar had some strange unintelligible characters engraven upon it. Mr. Butler hath a note on

* The authenticity and identity of this stone cannot be doubted, as its descent is more clearly proved than that of Agamemnon's sceptre. It was specified in the catalogue of the earl of Peterborough, at Drayton; thence fell to lady Betty Germaine, who gave it to the Duke of Argyle, and his son lord Frederick Campbell to lord Orford.

That was his tutor, and the cur
Read to th' occult philosopher,*
And taught him subt'ly to maintain
All other sciences are vain.†
To this, quoth Sidrophello, Sir,
Agrippa was no conjurer,‡
Nor Paracelsus, no, nor Behmen;
Nor was the dog a caco-dæmon,
But a true dog that would shew tricks
For th' emp'ror, and leap o'er sticks;
Would fetch and carry, was more civil
Than other dogs, but yet no devil;
And whatsoe'er he's said to do,
He went the self-same way we go.
As for the Rosy-cross philosophers,
Whom you will have to be but sorcerers,
What they pretend to is no more
Than Trismegistus did before,§
Pythagoras, old Zoroaster,‖

---

these lines in the following words: "Cornelius Agrippa had a "dog that was suspected to be a spirit, for some tricks he was "wont to do beyond the capacity of a dog. But the author of "Magia Adamica has taken a great deal of pains to vindicate "both the doctor and the dog from that aspersion; in which "he has shown a very great respect and kindness for them "both."

* A book entitled, De Occultâ Philosophiâ, was ascribed to Agrippa, and from thence he was called the occult philosopher.

† Bishop Warburton says, nothing can be more pleasant than this turn given to Agrippa's silly book De Vanitate Scientiarum.

‡ A subject of much disputation. Paulus Jovius, and others maintain that he was. Wierus and Monsieur Naudé endeavor to vindicate him from the charge: Apologie pour les grands hommes accusés de magie. Perhaps we may best apologize for Agrippa, by saying, that he was not the author of every book which has been attributed to him. See Canto i. line 540.

§ The Egyptian Thoth or Tout, called Hermes by the Greeks, and Mercury by the Latins, from whom the chymists pretend to have derived their art, is supposed to have lived soon after the time of Moses, and to have made improvements in every branch of learning. "Thoth," says Lactantius, "antiquissimus et in-"structissimus omni genere doctrinæ, adeo ut ei multarum rerum "et artium scientiâ Trismegisto cognomen imponeret." B. i. cap. 6. The Egyptians anciently engraved their laws and discoveries in science upon columns, which were deposited in the colleges of the priests. The column in their language was termed Thoth. And in a country where almost every thing became an object of worship, it is no wonder that the sacred column should be personified, and that Thoth should be revered as the inventor or great promoter of learning.

‖ Pythagoras, a Greek philosopher, flourished about the sixth or seventh century before Christ. He was the scholar of Thales:

And Appollonius their master,*
To whom they do confess they owe
All that they do, and all they know.
Quoth Hudibras, Alas! what is't t' us
Whether 'twas said by Trismegistus,
If it be nonsense, false, or mystic,
Or not intelligible, or sophistic?
'Tis not antiquity, nor author,
That makes truth truth, altho' time's daughter;†
'Twas he that put her in the pit,

---

and travelled forty years in Egypt, Chaldea, and other parts of the East, velut pædo literarum, for the sake of improvement. See Diog. Laert. He was initiated into all their mysteries. At last he settled in Italy, and founded the Italic sect. He commonly expressed himself by symbols. Many incredible stories are reported of him by Laertius, Jamblicus, and others. Old Zoroaster, so old that authors know not when he lived. Some make him cotemporary with Abraham. Others place him five thousand years before the Trojan war. Justin says of him, "Postremum illi (Nino) bellum cum Zoroastre, rege Bactriano-"rum fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse, et mundi "principia, siderumque motus diligentissimè spectasse." Lib i. cap. 1.

* Appollonius, of Tyana, lived in the time of Domitian. He embraced the doctrines of Pythagoras; travelled far both east and west; everywhere spent much of his time in the temples; was a critical inspector of the pagan worship; and set himself to reform and purify their ritual. He was much averse to animal sacrifices, and condemned the exhibitions of gladiators. Many improbable wonders are related of him by Philostratus; and more are added by subsequent writers. According to these accounts he raised the dead, rendered himself invisible,* was seen at Rome and Puteoli on the same day; and proclaimed at Ephesus the murder of Domitian at the very instant of its perpetration at Rome. This last fact is attested by Dio Cassius the consular historian; who with the most vehement asseverations, affirms it to be certainly true, though it should be denied a thousand times over. Yet the same Dio elsewhere calls him a cheat and impostor. Dio lxviii. ult. et lxxvii. 18. For an account of the difference of the Γοητεία, Μαγεία, Φαρμακεία, three of the principal ancient superstitions brought from Persia, see Suidas in vocem Γοητεία. Their master, i. e. master of the Rosicrucians.

† The knight argues that opinions are not always to be received on the authority of a great name; nor does the antiquity of an opinion ever constitute the truth of it, though time will often give stability to truth, and foster it as a legitimate offspring. Yet perhaps there is many a learned character to which the lines of Horace are applicable:

Qui redit in fastos, et virtutem æstimat annis;
Miraturque nihil, nisi quod Libitina sacravit.
Epist. lib. ii. ep. i. 48.

* The heathens were fond of comparing these feats with the miracles o Jesus Christ.

Before he pull'd her out of it ;*
And as he eats his sons, just so
He feeds upon his daughters too.†
Nor does it follow, 'cause a herald,
Can make a gentleman, scarce a year old,‡
To be descended of a race
Of ancient kings in a small space,
That we should all opinions hold
Authentic, that we can make old.
Quoth Sidrophel, It is no part
Of prudence to cry down an art,
And what it may perform, deny,
Because you understand not why ;
As Averrhois play'd but a mean trick,
To damn our whole art for eccentrick,§

* Time brings many truths to light: according to Horace, Epist. lib. i. ep. vi. 24:

Quicquid sub terrâ est in apricum proferet ætas.

But time often involves subjects in perplexity, and occasions those very difficulties which afterwards it helps to remove. "Veritatem in puteo latentem non inconcinne finxit antiquitas." Cicero employs a saying of Democritus to this purpose, Academ. Quæst. i. 12, "angustos sensus, imbecillos animos, brevia curri-"cula vitæ, et ut Democritus, in profundo veritatem esse demer-"sam." Again in Lucullo: "Naturam accusa; quæ in profundo "veritatem, ut ait Democritus, penitus abstruserit." Bishop Warburton observes, that the satire contained in these lines of our author is fine and just. Cleanthes said, "that truth was hid "in a pit." "Yes," answers the poet; "but you Greek philoso-"phers were the first that put her in there, and then claimed so "much merit to yourselves for drawing her out." The first Greek philosophers greatly obscured truth by their endless speculations, and it was business enough for the industry and talents of their successors to clear matters up.

† If truth is "time's daughter," yet Saturn, Χρόνος, or Time, may be never the kinder to her on that account. For as poets feign that Saturn eats his sons, so he feeds upon his daughters. He devours truths as well as years, and buries them in oblivion.

‡ In all civil wars the order of things is subverted; the poor become rich, and the rich poor. And they who suddenly gain riches must in the next place be furnished with an honorable pedigree. Many instances of this kind are preserved in Walker's History of Independency, Bate's Lives of the Regicides, &c.

§ Averroes flourished in the twelfth century. He was a great critic, lawyer, and physician; and one of the most subtle philosophers that ever appeared among the Arabians. He wrote a commentary upon Aristotle, from whence he obtained the surname of commentator. He much disliked the epicycles and eccentrics which Ptolemy had introduced into his system; they seemed so absurd to him, that they gave him a disgust to the science of astronomy in general. He does not seem to have formed a more favorable opinion of astrology. Here likewise was too much eccentricity: and he condemned the art as useless and fallacious, having no foundation of truth or certainty.

For who knows all that knowledge contains?
Men dwell not on the tops of mountains,
But on their sides, or risings seat;
So 'tis with knowledge's vast height.
Do not the hist'ries of all ages
Relate miraculous presages
Of strange turns, in the world's affairs,
Foreseen b' astrologers, sooth-sayers,
Chaldeans, learned Genethliacs,*
And some that have writ almanacs?
The Median emp'ror dream'd his daughter
Had pist all Asia under water,†
And that a vine, sprung from her haunches,
O'erspread his empire with its branches;
And did not soothsayers expound it,
As after by th' event he found it?
When Cæsar in the senate fell,
Did not the sun eclips'd foretell,‡
And in resentment of his slaughter,
Look'd pale for almost a year after?
Augustus having, b' oversight,
Put on his left shoe 'fore his right,§
Had like to have been slain that day,
By soldiers mutin'ing for pay.
Are there not myriads of this sort,
Which stories of all times report?
Is it not ominous in all countries,

---

* Genethliaci, termed also Chaldæi, were soothsayers, who undertook to foretell the fortunes of men from circumstances attending their births. Casters of nativity.

† Astyages, king of Media, had this dream of his daughter Mandane; and being alarmed at the interpretation of it which was given by the magi, he married her to Cambyses, a Persian of mean quality. Her son was Cyrus, who fulfilled the dream by the conquest of Asia. See Herodotus, i. 107, and Justin.

‡ The prodigies which are said to have been noticed before the death of Cæsar, are mentioned by several of the classics, Virgil, Ovid, Plutarch, &c. But the poet alludes to what is related by Pliny in his Natural History, ii. 30, "fiunt prodigiosi, et "longiores solis defectus, qualis occiso Cæsare dictatore, et Antoniano bello, totius pene anni pallore continuo."

§ An excellent banter upon omens and prodigies. Pliny gives this account in his second book: "Divus Augustus lævum prodi-"dit sibi calceum præpostere inductum, quo die seditione militari "prope adflictus est." And Suetonius, in Augusti Vitâ, sect. 92, says: "(Augustus) auspicia quædam et omina pro certissimis "observabat, si mane sibi calceus perperam, ac sinister pro dex-"tro induceretur, ut dirum." Charles the First is said to have been much affected by some omens of this kind, such as the sortes Virgilianæ, observations on his bust made by Bernini, and on his picture.

When crows and ravens croak upon trees?
The Roman senate, when within
The city walls an owl was seen,*
Did cause their clergy, with lustrations,
Our synod calls humiliations,
The round-fac'd prodigy t' avert,
From doing town or country hurt.
And if an owl have so much pow'r,
Why should not planets have much more,
That in a region far above
Inferior fowls of the air move,
And should see further, and foreknow
More than their augury below?
Tho' that once serv'd the polity
Of mighty states to govern by;†
And this is what we take in hand,
By pow'rful art, to understand;
Which, how we have perform'd, all ages
Can speak th' events of our presages.
Have we not lately in the moon,
Found a new world, to th' old unknown?
Discover'd sea and land, Columbus
And Magellan could never compass?
Made mountains with our tubes appear,
And cattle grazing on them there?
Quoth Hudibras, You lie so ope,
That I, without a telescope,
Can find your tricks out, and descry
Where you tell truth, and where you lie:
For Anaxagoras long agone,
Saw hills, as well as you, i' th' moon,‡

---

* Anno ante Christum 97, bubone in urbe viso, urbs lustrata. Bubone in capitolio supra deorum simulacra viso, cum piaretur, taurus victima exanimis concidit. Julius Obsequens, No. 44–45, et Lycosthenes, pp. 194, 195.

† It appears from many passages of Cicero, and other authors, that the determinations of the augurs, aruspices, and the sybil line books, were commonly contrived to promote the ends of government, or to serve the purposes of the chief managers in the commonwealth.

‡ See Burnet's Archæolog. cap. x. p. 144. Anaxagoras of Clazomene, was the first of the Ionic philosophers who maintained that the several parts of the universe were the works of a supreme intelligent being, and consequently did not allow the sun and moon to be gods. On this account he was accused of impiety, and thrown into prison; but released by Pericles. Plutarch in Nicia: "Are they not dreams of human vanity," says Montaigne, "to make the moon a celestial earth, there to fancy "mountains and vales as Anaxagoras did." And see Plutarch de Placitis philosophorum, Diog. Laert. and Plato de legibus. The

And held the sun was but a piece
Of red hot iron as big as Greece ;*
Believ'd the heav'ns were made of stone,
Because the sun had voided one ;†
And, rather than he would recant
Th' opinion, suffer'd banishment.
But what, alas! is it to us,
Whether i' th' moon, men thus or thus
Do eat their porridge, cut their corns,
Or whether they have tails or horns?
What trade from thence can you advance,
But what we nearer have from France?
What can our travellers bring home,
That is not to be learnt at Rome?
What politics, or strange opinions,
That are not in our own dominions?
What science can be brought from thence,
In which we do not here commence?
What revelations, or religions,
That are not in our native regions?
Are sweating-lanterns, or screen-fans,‡

---

poet might probably have Bishop Wilkins in view, who maintained that the moon was an habitable world, and proposed schemes for flying there.

Speaking of Anaxagoras, Monsieur Chevreau says: "We "may easily excuse the ill humour of one who was seldom of "the opinion of others: who maintained that snow was black, "because it was made of water, which is black; who took the "heavens to be an arch of stone, which rolled about continual-"ly; and the moon a piece of inflamed earth; and the sun "(which is about 434 times bigger than the earth) for a plate of "red-hot steel, of the bigness of Peloponnesus."

* [Οὗτος ἔλεγε τ�ον ἥλιον μύδρον εἶναι διάπυρον, καὶ μείζω τῆς Πελοποννήσου. Diog. Laert. l. ii. § 8.]

In Mr. Butler's Remains we read:

For th' ancients only took it for a piece
Of red hot iron, as big as Peloponese.

Rudis antiquitas, Homerum secuta, cœlum credidit esse ferreum. Sed Homerus a coloris similitudine ferreum dixit, non a pondere.

† Anaxagoras had foretold that a large stone would fall from heaven, and it was supposed afterwards to have been found near the river Ægos, Laert. ii. 10, and Plutarch in Lysandro, who discusses the matter at length. Mr. Costard explains this prediction to mean the approach of a comet; and we learn from the testimony of Aristotle, and others, that a comet appeared at that juncture, Olymp. lxxviii. 2. See Aristot. Meteor. The fall of the stone is recorded in the Arundel marbles.

‡ These lanterns, as the poet calls them, were boxes, wherein the whole body was placed, together with a lamp. They were used, by quacks, in the venereal disease, or to bring on perspira-

Made better there than they're in France?
Or do they teach to sing and play
O' th' guitar there a newer way?
Can they make plays there, that shall fit
The public humour with less wit?
Write wittier dances, quainter shows,
Or fight with more ingenious blows?
Or does the man i' th' moon look big,
And wear a huger periwig,
Shew in his gait, or face, more tricks
Than our own native lunaticks?*
But, if w' outdo him here at home,
What good of your design can come?
As wind, i' th' hypocondres pent,†
Is but a blast, if downward sent;
But if it upward chance to fly,
Becomes new light and prophecy;‡
So when our speculations tend
Above their just and useful end,
Altho' they promise strange and great
Discoveries of things far fet,
They are but idle dreams and fancies,
And savor strongly of the ganzas.§

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tion. See Swift's Works, vol. vi. Pethox the Great, v. 56. Hawkesworth's edition. Screen fans are used to shade the eyes from the fire, and commonly hang by the side of the chimney; sometimes ladies carried them along with them: they were made of leather, or paper, or feathers. I have a picture of Miss Ireton, who married Richard Walsh, of Abberley, in Worcestershire, with a curious feathered fan in her hand.

* These and the foregoing lines were a satire upon the gait, dress, and carriage of the fops and beaux of those days.

† In the belly, under the short ribs. These lines are thus turned into Latin by Dr. Harmer:

Sic hypocondriacis inclusa meatibus aura
Desinet in crepitum, si fertur prona per alvum;
Sed si summa petat, mentisque invaserit arcem
Divinus furor est, et conscia flamma futuri.

‡ New light was the phrase at that time for any new opinion in religion, and is frequently alluded to by our poet; the phrase, I am told, prevails still in New England, as it does now in the north of Ireland, where the dissenters are chiefly divided into two sects, usually styled the old and the new lights. The old lights are such as rigidly adhere to the old Calvinistic doctrine; and the new lights are those who have adopted the more modern latitudinarian opinions: these are frequently averse and hostile to each other, as their predecessors the Presbyterians and Independents were in the time of Butler.

§ Godwin, afterwards bishop of Hereford, wrote in his youth a kind of astronomical romance, under the feigned name of a Spaniard, Domingo Gonzales, and entitled it the Man in the

Tell me but what's the natural cause
Why on a sign no painter draws
The full moon ever, but the half?
Resolve that with your Jacob's staff;*
Or why wolves raise a hubbub at her,
And dogs howl when she shines in water?
And I shall freely give my vote,
You may know something more remote.
At this, deep Sidrophel look'd wise,
And staring round with owl-like eyes,
He put his face into a posture
Of sapience, and began to bluster:
For having three times shook his head
To stir his wit up, thus he said:
Art has no mortal enemies,
Next ignorance, but owls and geese:†
Those consecrated geese, in orders,
That to the capitol were warders,‡
And being then upon patrol,
With noise alone beat off the Gaul;
Or those Athenian sceptic owls,
That will not credit their own souls,§

Moon, or a Discourse on a Voyage thither. It gives an account of his being drawn up to the moon in a light vehicle, by certain birds called ganzas. And the knight censures the pretensions of Sidrophel, by comparing them with this wild expedition. The poet likewise might intend to banter some projects of the learned Bishop Wilkins, one of the first promoters of the Royal Society. At this institution and its favorers, many a writer of that day has shot his bolt—telum imbelle sine ictu.

* A mathematical instrument for taking the heights and distances of stars.

† "Et quod vulgo aiunt, artem non habere inimicum nisi ignorantem." Sprat thought it necessary to write many pages to show that natural philosophy was not likely to subvert our government, or our religion: and that experimental knowledge had no tendency to make men either bad subjects or bad Christians. See Sprat's History of the Royal Society.

‡ Our ancestors called the garrison of a castle or fortress its warders; hence our word guardian. Lands lying near many of the old castles were held by the tenure of castle-ward, the possessors being obliged to find so many men for the ward or guard of the castle. This was afterwards commuted into pecuniary payments, with which the governors hired mercenary soldiers or warders: the warders of the Tower of London still preserve the old appellation.

§ Incredulous persons. He calls them owls on account of their pretensions to great depth of learning, the owl being used as an emblem of wisdom; and Athenian, because that bird was sacred to Minerva, the protectress of Athens, and was borne on the standards of the city. Heralds say, noctua signum est sapientiæ: for she retires in the day, and avoids the tumult of the

Or any science understand,
Beyond the reach of eye or hand;
But measuring all things by their own
Knowledge, hold nothing's to be known:
Those wholesale critics, that in coffee-
Houses cry down all philosophy,
And will not know upon what ground
In nature we our doctrine found,
Altho' with pregnant evidence
We can demonstrate it to sense,
As I just now have done to you,
Foretelling what you came to know.
Were the stars only made to light
Robbers and burglarers by night?*
To wait on drunkards, thieves, gold-finders,
And lovers solacing behind doors?
Or giving one another pledges
Of matrimony under hedges?
Or witches simpling, and on gibbets
Cutting from malefactors snippets?†
Or from the pill'ry tips of ears
Of rebel-saints and perjurers?

---

world, like a man employed in study and contemplation. Since the owl, however, is usually considered as a moping, drowsy bird, the poet intimates that the knowledge of these skeptics is obscure, confused, and indigested. The meaning of the whole passage is this:—There are two sorts of men who are great enemies to the advancement of science. The first, bigoted divines, upon hearing of any new discovery in nature, apprehend an attack upon religion, and proclaim loudly that the capitol, i. e. the faith of the church, is in danger. The others are self-sufficient philosophers, who lay down arbitrary principles, and reject every truth which does not coincide with them.

* The poets thought the stars were not made only to light robbers. See the beautiful address to Hesperus:

Ἕσπερε, τᾶς ἐρατᾶς χρύσεον φάος Ἀφρογενείας, &c.
Brunk. ηας

——— οὐκ ἐπὶ φωρὰν
Ἔρχομαι, οὐδ' ἵνα νυκτὸς ὁδοιπορέοντ' ἐνοχλήσω,
Ἀλλ' ἐράω, &c.

Bion. ii. 392. Brunk. An. vol. i. Mosch. Idyl. vii. according to the Oxford edit. of Bion and Moschus. E typ. Clar. 1748.

Sidrophel argues, that so many luminous bodies could never have been constructed for the sole purpose of affording a little light, in the absence of the sun. His reasoning does not contribute much to the support of astrology; but it seems to favor the notion of a plurality of worlds.

† Collecting herbs, and other requisites, for their enchantments. See Shakspeare's Macbeth, Act. iv.

Only to stand by, and look on,
But not know what is said or done?
Is there a constellation there
That was not born and bred up here?*
And therefore cannot be to learn
In any inferior concern?
Were they not, during all their lives,
Most of 'em pirates, whores, and thieves?
And is it like they have not still,
In their old practices, some skill?
Is there a planet that by birth
Does not derive its house from earth?
And therefore probably must know
What is, and hath been done below?
Who made the Balance, or whence came
The Bull, the Lion, and the Ram?
Did not we here the Argo rig,
Make Berenice's periwig?†
Whose liv'ry does the coachman wear?
Or who made Cassiopeia's chair?
And therefore, as they came from hence,
With us may hold intelligence.
Plato deny'd the world can be
Govern'd without geometry,‡
For money b'ing the common scale
Of things by measure, weight and tale,
In all th' affairs of church and state,
'Tis both the balance and the weight:
Then much less can it be without
Divine astrology made out,
That puts the other down in worth,
As far as heaven's above earth.

* Astronomers, both ancient and modern, have divided the heavens into certain figures, representing animals and other objects. Eratosthenes, the scholiast on Aratus, and Julius Hyginus, mention the reasons which determined men to the choice of these particular figures. See Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology of the Greeks, p. 83.

† The constellation called coma Berenices. Berenice, the wife of Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt, in consequence of a vow, cut off and dedicated some of her beautiful hair to Venus, on the return of her husband from a military expedition. And Conon, the mathematician, paid her a handsome compliment, by forming the constellation of this name. Callimachus wrote a poem to celebrate her affection and piety: a translation of it by Catullus is still preserved in the works of that author.

‡ Plato, out of fondness for geometry, has employed it in all his systems. He used to say that the Deity did γεωμετρεῖν, play the geometrician; that is, do every thing by weight and measure.

These reasons, quoth the Knight, I grant
Are something more significant
Than any that the learned use
Upon this subject to produce;
And yet they're far from satisfactory,
T' establish and keep up your factory
Th' Egyptians say, the sun has twice*
Shifted his setting and his rise;
Twice has he risen in the west,
As many times set in the east;
But whether that be true or no,
The devil any of you know.
Some hold, the heavens, like a top,
Are kept by circulation up,†
And were 't not for their wheeling round,

* The Egyptian priests informed Herodotus that, in the space of 11340 years, the sun had four times risen and set out of its usual course, rising twice where it now sets, and setting twice where it now rises—ἔνθα τε νῦν καταδύεται, ἐνθεῦτεν δὶς ἐπαντείλαι· καὶ ἔνθεν, &c. Herodotus, Euterpe, seu lib. ii. 142. A learned person supposes this account to be a corrupt tradition of the miraculous stop, or recession of the sun, in the times of Joshua and Hezekiah. Others suppose that what the priests told him for a chronical, was mistaken by Herodotus for an astronomical phenomenon; and that the particulars, which he has recorded in the words ἔνθα and ἐνθεῦτεν, related only to the time of the day or year, and not to the place or quarter of the heavens. The Egyptian year consisted of no more than 360 days; and therefore the day in their calendar, which was once the summer solstice, would in 730 years become their winter solstice; and, in 1461 years, it would come to their summer solstice again. This Censorinus tells us was really the case. So that the four revolutions would happen in a much shorter time than the priests had assigned for them. Dr. Long explodes the whole for an idle story, invented by the Egyptians to support their vain pretensions to antiquity; and fit to pass only among persons who have no knowledge of astronomy. Indeed no others would believe that the cardinal points were entirely changed, or the rotation of the earth inverted. See Spenser, Fairy Queen, b. v. c. i. stanz. 6 7 and 8, &c.

> And if to those Egyptian wisards old
> (Which in star-read were wont have best insight)
> Faith may be given, it is by them told
> That since the time they first tooke the Sunnes hight,
> Four times his place he shifted hath in sight,
> And twice hath risen where he now doth west,
> And wested twice where he ought rise aright.

† It is mentioned as the opinion of Anaxagoras, that the whole heaven, which was composed of stone, was kept up by violent circumrotation, but would fall when the rapidity of that motion should be remitted. Some do Anaxagoras the honor to suppose, that this conceit of his gave the first hint towards the modern explication of the planetary motions.

They'd instantly fall to the ground:
As sage Empedocles of old,
And from him modern authors hold.
Plato believ'd the sun and moon
Below all other planets run.*
Some Mercury, some Venus seat
Above the Sun himself in height.
The learned Scaliger complain'd
'Gainst what Copernicus maintain'd,†
That in twelve hundred years, and odd,
The Sun had left his ancient road,
And nearer to the Earth is come,
'Bove fifty thousand miles from home
Swore 'twas a most notorious flam,
And he that had so little shame
To vent such fopperies abroad,
Deserv'd to have his rump well claw'd:
Which Monsieur Bodin hearing, swore,
That he deserv'd the rod much more,‡
That durst upon a truth give doom,
He knew less than the pope of Rome.
Cardan believ'd great states depend
Upon the tip o' th' Bear's tail's end;§

* The knight further argues, that there can be no foundation of truth in astrology, since the learned differ so much about the planets themselves, from which astrologers chiefly draw their predictions. "Plato solem et lunam cæteris planetis inferiores esse putavit."

† Copernicus thought that the eccentricity of the sun, or the obliquity of the ecliptic, had been diminished by many parts since the times of Ptolemy and Hipparchus. On which Scaliger observed, Copernici scripta spongiis, vel autorem scuticis dignum —that the writings of Copernicus deserved a sponge, or the author a rod.

‡ Bodin, an eminent geographer and lawyer, was born at Angers, in France, and died of the plague at Laon, 1596, aged 67. According to his opinion, it has been clearly proved by Copernicus, Reinholdus, Stadius, and other famous mathematicians, that the circle of the earth has approached nearer to the sun than it was formerly.

§ Cardan, a famous physician of Milan, was born at Padua, 1501. He conceived the influences of the several stars to be appropriated to particular countries. The fate of the greatest kingdoms in Europe, he said, was determined by the tail of Ursa Major. This great astrologer foretold the time of his own death But when the appointed day drew near, he found himself in perfect health, at the seventy-fifth year of his age; and resolved to starve himself, lest he should bring disgrace on his favorite science. Thuanus gives the character which Scaliger had drawn of him: in certain things he appeared superior to human understanding, and in a great many others inferior to that of little children. See Bayle's Dictionary, Art. Cardan.

That as she whisk'd it t'wards the Sun,
Strow'd mighty empires up and down;
Which others say must needs be false,
Because your true bears have no tails.
Some say, the zodiac constellations
Have long since chang'd their antique stations*
Above a sign, and prove the same
In Taurus now, once in the Ram;
Affirm'd the Trigons chopp'd and chang'd,
The wat'ry with the fiery rang'd;†
Then how can their effects still hold
To be the same they were of old?
This, though the art were true, would make
Our modern soothsayers mistake,‡
And is one cause they tell more lies,
In figures and nativities,
Than th' old Chaldean conjurers,
In so many hundred thousand years;§
Beside their nonsense in translating,
For want of accidence and latin;
Like Idus and Calendæ englisht
The quarter days, by skilful linguist;‖

* The knight, still further to lessen the credit of astrology, observes that the stars have suffered a considerable variation of their longitude by the precession of the equinoxes: for instance, the first star of Aries, which in the time of Meton the Athenian was found in the very intersection of the ecliptic and equator, is now removed eastward more than thirty degrees, so that the sign Aries possesses the place of Taurus, Taurus that of Gemini, and so on.

† The twelve signs in astrology are divided into four trigons, or triplicities, each denominated from the con-natural element; so they are three fiery, three airy, three watery, and three earthly.

Fiery—Aries, Leo, Sagittarius.
Earthly—Taurus, Virgo, Capricornus.
Airy—Gemini, Libra, Aquarius.
Watery—Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces.

‡ See our poet's arguments put into prose by Dr. Bentley, in the latter end of his third sermon at Boyle's lectures.

§ The Chaldeans, as Cicero remarks, pretended to have been in possession of astrological knowledge for the long space of 47,000 years. But Diodorus informs us that, in things belonging to their art, they calculated by lunar years of thirty days. By this method, however, their account will reach to the creation, if not to a more distant epoch. It is well known that Berosus, or his scholars, new-modelled and adopted the Babylonian doctrines to the Grecian mythology.

‖ Mr. Smith, of Harleston, says this is a banter upon Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of Horace, Epod. ii. 69, 70.

Omnem relegit idibus pecuniam,
Quærit calendis ponere.

And yet with canting, slight, and cheat
'Twill serve their turn to do the feat;
Make fools believe in their foreseeing
Of things before they are in being;
To swallow gudgeons ere they're catch'd,
And count their chickens ere they're hatch'd;
Make them the constellations prompt,
And give them back their own accompt;
But still the best to him that gives
The best price for't, or best believes.
Some towns, some cities, some for brevity,
Have cast the 'versal world's nativity,
And made the infant stars confess,
Like fools or children, what they please.
Some calculate the hidden fates
Of monkeys, puppy-dogs, and cats;
Some running-nags, and fighting-cocks,
Some love, trade, law-suits, and the pox:
Some take a measure of the lives
Of fathers, mothers, husbands, wives,
Make opposition, trine, and quartile,
Tell who is barren, and who fertile;
As if the planet's first aspect
The tender infant did infect*

At Michælmas calls all his monies in,
And at our Lady puts them out again.

The fifteenth day of March, May, July, and October, and the thirteenth day of all other months, was called the ides. The first day of every month was called the calends.

* The accent is laid upon the last syllable of aspect, as it often is in Shakspeare: see Dr. Farmer's observations on the learning of Shakspeare, p. 27. Astrologers reckon five aspects of the planets · conjunction, sextile, quartile trine, and opposition. Sextile denotes their being distant from each other a sixth part of a circle, or two signs; quartile, a fourth part, or three signs; trine, a third part, or four signs; opposition, half the circle, or directly opposite. It was the opinion of judicial astrologers, that whatever good disposition the infant might otherwise have been endued with, yet if its birth was, by any accident, so accelerated or retarded, that it fell in with the predominance of a malignant constellation, this momentary influence would entirely change its nature, and bias it to all contrary ill qualities. The ancients had an opinion of the influence of the stars:

Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum.
Horat. Ep. lib. ii. Ep. ii. l. 187.

There would be no end of quoting authors on this subject, such as Menander and Plutarch among the Greeks; and among the Latins, Horace, Persius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Censorinus de die natali.

The tender infant did infect—Thus in line 931:

And make the infant stars confess.

In soul and body, and instill
All future good and future ill;
Which in their dark fatalities lurking,
At destined periods fall a working,
And break out, like the hidden seeds
Of long diseases, into deeds,
In friendships, enmities, and strife,
And all th' emergencies of life:
No sooner does he peep into
The world, but he has done his do,
Catch'd all diseases, took all physick,
That cures or kills a man that is sick;
Marry'd his punctual dose of wives,
Is cuckolded, and breaks, or thrives.
There's but the twinkling of a star
Between a man of peace and war;
A thief and justice, fool and knave,
A huffing off'cer and a slave;
A crafty lawyer and pick-pocket,
A great philosopher and a blockhead;
A formal preacher and a player,
A learn'd physician and man-slayer:*
As if men from the stars did suck
Old age, diseases, and ill luck,
Wit, folly, honour, virtue, vice,
Trade, travel, women, claps, and dice:
And draw, with the first air they breathe,
Battle, and murder, sudden death.†
Are not these fine commodities
To be imported from the skies,
And vended here among the rabble,
For staple goods, and warrantable?
Like money by the Druids borrow'd,
In th' other world to be restor'd.‡

* In the public opinion, perhaps, there is thought to be a coincidence in these characters; and some of them, we must own, are more nearly allied than others. The author too, with his usual pleasantry, might be willing to allow the resemblance in a certain degree; but the scope of his argument requires him to attribute to them distinct and opposite qualities; and in this sense, no doubt, he meant seriously to be understood.

† This is one of the petitions in the Litany, which the dissenters objected to; especially the words sudden death. See Bennet's London Cases abridged, ch. iv. p. 100.

‡ That is, astrologers, by endeavoring to persuade men that the stars have dealt out to them their future fortunes, are guilty of a similar fraud with the Druids, who borrowed money on a promise of repaying it after death. Druidæ pecuniam mutuo accipiebant, in posteriore vitâ reddituri. This practice among the

Quoth Sidrophel, To let you know
You wrong the art and artists too,
Since arguments are lost on those
That do our principles oppose,
I will, altho' I've don't before,
Demonstrate to your sense once more,
And draw a figure that shall tell you
What you, perhaps forget befel you;
By way of horary inspection,*
Which some account our worst erection.
With that, he circles draws, and squares,
With cyphers, astral characters,
Then looks 'em o'er to understand 'em,
Altho' set down habnab at random.†
Quoth he, This scheme of th' heavens set,
Discovers how in fight you met,
At Kingston, with a may-pole idol,‡
And that y'were bang'd both back and side well;
And tho' you overcame the bear,

Druids was founded on their doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Valerius Maximus says of the Gauls in general, Vetus ille Gallorum mos—quos memoria proditum est, pecuuias mutuas, quæ his apud inferos redderentur, dare solitos, quia persuasum habuerunt, animas hominum immortales esse, ii. 6, 10. And Mela says, Unum ex iis quæ præcipiunt (Druides) in vulgus efluxit—æternas esse animas,—itaque cum mortuis cremant ac defodiunt apta viventibus olim. Negotiorum ratio etiam et exactio crediti deferebatur ad inferos, ii. 2.—Bonzes, in the East Indies, are said to have been acquainted with this practice.

* The horoscope is the point of the heavens which rises above the eastern horizon, at any particular moment.

† Dr. Davies says habnab is a Welsh word, and signifies rashly, at random. [Nares says, habbe or nabbe, Have or have not, hit or miss, at a venture: quasi, *have or n'ave*, i. e. have not; as *nill* for will not. "The citizens in their rage imagining that every post in the churche had bin one of their souldyers, shot *habbe or nabbe*, at random." Holinshed, Hist. of Ireland. F. 2, col. 2.]

‡ Mr. Butler alludes to the counterfeited second part of Hudibras, published 1663. The first annotator gives us to understand, that some silly interloper had broken in upon our author's design, and invented a second part of his book. In this spurious production, the rencounters of Hudibras at Brentford, the transactions of a mountebank whom he met with, and probably these adventures of the May-pole at Kingston, are described at length. Cervantes, the author of Don Quixote, met with the like treatment, [from Alphonsus Fernandes de Avellaneda;] and vindicated himself in the same manner, by making his knight declare that he was no way concerned in those exploits which a new historian had related of him. *May-poles* were held in abomination by the saints of our author's time; and many writers have expressed their abhorrence of them with great acrimony.

The dogs beat you at Brentford fair;
Where sturdy butchers broke your noddle,
And handled you like a fop-doodle.
  Quoth Hudibras, I now perceive
You are no conj'rer, by your leave;
That paltry story is untrue,
And forg'd to cheat such gulls as you.
  Not true? quoth he; howe'er you vapour,
I can what I affirm make appear;
Whachum shall justify't to your face,
And prove he was upon the place:
He play'd the saltinbancho's part,*
Transform'd t' a Frenchman by my art;
He stole your cloak, and pick'd your pocket,
Chous'd and caldes'd you like a blockhead,†
And what you lost I can produce,
If you deny it, here i' the house.
  Quoth Hudibras, I do believe
That argument's demonstrative;
Ralpho, bear witness, and go fetch us
A constable to seize the wretches:
For tho' they're both false knaves and cheats,‡

* Saltimbanque is a French word, signifying a quack or mountebank. Perhaps it was originally Italian.

† Caldes'd is a word of the poet's own coining. Mr. Warburton thinks he took the hint from the Chaldeans, who were great fortune-tellers. Others suppose it may be derived from the Gothic, or old Teutonic, a language used by the Picts; among whom Caldees, or Keldeis, as Spotswood thinks, were the ancient ministers or priests, and so called because they lived in cells. See Camden's account of the Orkney Isles. Pinkerton, in his History of the Scots, p. 273, says, "themselves the distinctions of monks and of secular clergy, "being apparently, to the eleventh century, the only monks and "clergy in Scotland, and all Irish." But perhaps we ought rather to look for this word in the vocabulary of gipsies and pickpockets, than either among the Chaldeans, the Scots, or the Irish. The signification of it, in Butler's Remains, is the same with trepanned. Vol. i. 24:

Asham'd that men so grave and wise
Should be chaldes'd by gnats and flies.

Mr. Butler's MS. Common-place book has the following lines:

He that with injury is griev'd,
And goes to law to be reliev'd,
Is like a silly rabble chouse,
Who, when a thief had robb'd his house,
Applies himself to cunning man
To help him to his goods agen.

‡ Though they are false by their own confession, I will make them true for another purpose.

Imposters, jugglers, counterfeits,
I'll make them serve for perpendic'lars,
As true as e'er were us'd by bricklayers :*
They're guilty, by their own confessions,
Of felony, and at the sessions,
Upon the bench I will so handle 'em,
That the vibration of this pendulum
Shall make all tailors' yards of one
Unanimous opinion :†
A thing he long has vapour'd of,
But now shall make it out by proof.
Quoth Sidrophel, I do not doubt
To find friends that will bear me out ;‡

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* i. e. swing them in a line, like a bricklayer's level.

† Mr. Butler, in his own note on this passage, says: "The de "vice of the vibration of a pendulum, was intended to settle a "certain measure of ells, yards, &c., all the world over, which "should have its foundation in nature. For by swinging a "weight at the end of a string, and calculating by the motion of "the sun or any star, how long the vibration would last, in pro- "portion to the length of the string and weight of the pendu- "lum, they thought to reduce it back again, and from any part "of time compute the exact length of any string, that must "necessarily vibrate for such a period of time. So that if a man "should ask in China for a quarter of an hour of taffeta, they "would know perfectly well what he meant: and the measure "of things would be reckoned no more by the yard, foot, or inch: "but by the hour, quarter, and minute." See his Remains by Thyer, vol. i. p. 30:

By which he had composed a pedlar's jargon,
For all the world to learn and use to bargain,
An universal canting idiom
To understand the swinging pendulum,
And to communicate in all designs
With th' Eastern virtuoso mandarines.

And Dr. Derham's experiments concerning the vibration of a pendulum, in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. iii. No. 440, p. 201. The moderns, perhaps, will not be more successful in their endeavors to establish an universal standard of weights and measures.

[If the reader wishes to see the use the moderns have made of the pendulum, he may refer to "An account of Experiments "to determine the times of vibration of the Pendulum in differ- "ent latitudes, by Captain Edward Sabine of the Royal Regi "ment of Artillery," in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1821—to the volume for 1823—and to the volume for 1827 page 123, where he perhaps will find that at least the Captain is not the man "by the long level of his repeating circle" to

—— make all tailors' yards of one
Unanimous opinion.]

‡ William Lilly wrote and prophesied for the parliament, till he perceived their influence decline. He then changed sides; but having declared himself rather too soon, he was taken into

Nor have I hazarded my art,
And neck, so long on the state's part,
To be exposed i' th' end to suffer
By such a braggadocio huffer.
Huffer, quoth Hudibras, this sword
Shall down thy false throat cram that word;
Ralpho, make haste, and call an officer,
To apprehend this Stygian sophister;*
Mean while I'll hold 'em at a bay,
Lest he and Whachum run away.
But Sidrophel, who from the aspect
Of Hudibras, did now erect
A figure worse portending far,
Than that of most malignant star;
Believ'd it now the fittest moment
To shun the danger that might come on't,
While Hudibras was all alone,
And he and Whachum, two to one:
This being resolv'd, he spy'd by chance,
Behind the door, an iron lance,†
That many a sturdy limb had gor'd
And legs, and loins, and shoulders bor'd;
He snatch'd it up, and made a pass,
To make his way thro' Hudibras.
Whachum had got a fire-fork,
With which he vow'd to do his work;
But Hudibras was well prepar'd,
And stoutly stood upon his guard:
He put by Sidrophello's thrust,
And in right manfully he rusht,
The weapon from his gripe he wrung,
And laid him on the earth along.
Whachum his sea-coal prong threw by,
And basely turn'd his back to fly;
But Hudibras gave him a twitch,
As quick as lightning, in the breech,
Just in the place where honour's lodg'd,‡

custody; and escaped only, as he tells us himself, by the interference of friends, and by cancelling the offensive leaf in his almanac.

* i. e. *hellish* sophister.

† A spit for roasting meat.

‡ Mr. Butler in his speech made at the Rota, says, (Genuine Remains, vol. i. p. 323:) "Some are of opinion that honor is seated in the rump only, chiefly at least: for it is observed, that a small kick on that part does more hurt and wound honor than a cut on the head or face, or a stab, or a shot of a pistol, on any other part of the body."

As wise philosophers have judg'd;
Because a kick in that part more
Hurts honour, than deep wounds before.
Quoth Hudibras, The stars determine
You are my prisoners, base vermin,
Could they not tell you so, as well
As what I came to know, foretell?
By this, what cheats you are, we find,
That in your own concerns are blind.*
Your lives are now at my dispose,
To be redeem'd by fine or blows:
But who his honour would defile,
To take, or sell, two lives so vile?
I'll give you quarter; but your pillage,
The conqu'ring warrior's crop and tillage,
Which with his sword he reaps and plows,
That's mine, the law of arms allows.
This said in haste, in haste he fell
To rummaging of Sidrophel.
First, he expounded both his pockets,
And found a watch with rings and lockets,†
Which had been left with him t' erect
A figure for, and so detect.
A copper-plate, with almanacks
Engrav'd upon't, with other knacks‡
Of Booker's, Lilly's, Sarah Jimmer's,§
And blank-schemes to discover nimmers;‖

* "Astrologers," says Agrippa, "while they gaze on the stars "for direction, fall into ditches, wells, and goals" The crafty Tiberius, not content with a promise of empire, examined the astrologer concerning his own horoscope, intending to drown him on the least appearance of falsehood. But Thrasyllus was always too cunning for him: he answered the first time, "that he "perceived himself at that instant to be in imminent danger;" and afterwards, "that he was destined to die just ten years "before the emperor himself." Tacit. Ann. vi. 21. Dio lviii. 27.

† To negotiate between the robber and the robbed, was certainly the most profitable part of the astrologer's business.

‡ That is, marks or signs belonging to the astrologer's art: from the Anglo-Saxon cnapan, to know, or understand. *Knack* often signifies a bauble or plaything: a child's ball is called a knack. The Glossarist on Douglas says: "We (the Scots) use the word "knack for a witty expression, or action: a knacky man, that is, "a witty facetious man; which may come from the Teutonic "schnaike, facetiæ." The verb to knack, in Douglas, signifies to mock.

§ John Booker was born at Manchester, and a great astrologer. Lilly has frequently been mentioned. Sarah Jimmers, called, by Lilly, Sarah Skilhorn, was a great speculatrix.

‖ Thieves: from the A. S. niman, rapere, though it generally signifies pickpockets, private stealers.

A moon-dial, with Napier's bones,*
And sev'ral constellation stones,
Engrav'd in planetary hours,
That over mortals had strange powers
To make them thrive in law or trade,
And stab or poison to evade;
In wit or wisdom to improve,
And be victorious in love.
Whachum had neither cross nor pile,†
His plunder was not worth the while;
All which the conqu'ror did discompt,
To pay for curing of his rump.
But Sidrophel, as full of tricks
As rota-men of politics,‡
Straight cast about to over-reach
Th' unwary conqu'ror with a fetch,
And make him glad at least to quit
His victory, and fly the pit,
Before the secular prince of darkness§
Arriv'd to seize upon his carcass:
And, as a fox with hot pursuit,‖
Chas'd through a warren, cast about

* Lord Napier of Scotland, was author of an invention for casting up any sums or numbers by little rods, which being made of ivory, were called Napier's bones. He first discovered the use of logarithms in trigonometry, and made it public in a work printed at Edinburgh, 1614: an instance of ingenuity which should never be mentioned without a tribute of praise. His lordship was one of the early members of the Royal Society before its incorporation, which the poet takes frequent occasions to banter.

† [Money frequently bore a cross on one side, and the head of a spear or arrow, pilum, on the other. *Cross* and *pile* were our heads and tails. "This I humbly conceive to be perfect boy's play; *cross*, I win, and *pile*, you lose." Swift.]

‡ Mr. James Harrington, sometime in the service of Charles I., drew up and printed a form of popular government, after the king's death, entitled the Commonwealth of Oceana. He endeavored, likewise, to promote his scheme by public discourses, at a nightly club of several curious gentlemen, Henry Nevil, Charles Wolseley, John Wildman, Doctor (afterwards Sir William) Petty, who met in New Palace-yard, Westminster. Mr. Henry Nevil proposed to the house of commons, that a third part of its members should rote out by ballot every year, and be incapable of re-election for three years to come. This club was called the Rota Swift, Contests in Athens and Rome, ch. v. p. 74, note.

§ The constable who governs and keeps the peace at night.

‖ Olaus Magnus has related many such stories of the fox's cunning: his imitating the barking of a dog; feigning himself dead; ridding himself of fleas, by going gradually into the water with a lock of wool in his mouth, and when the fleas are driven into it, leaving the wool in the water; catching crab-fish with his tail, which the author avers for truth on his own knowledge. Ol. Mag. Hist. l 18.

To save his credit, and among
Dead vermin on a gallows hung,
And while the dogs ran underneath
Escap'd, by counterfeiting death,
Not out of cunning, but a train
Of atoms justling in his brain,*
As learn'd philosophers give out;
So Sidrophello cast about,
And fell to's wonted trade again;
To feign himself in earnest slain:†
First stretch'd out one leg, then another,
And, seeming in his breast to smother
A broken sigh, quoth he, Where am I?
Alive, or dead? or which way came I
Thro' so immense a space so soon?
But now I thought myself i' th' moon;
And that a monster with huge whiskers,
More formidable than a Switzer's,
My body thro' and thro' had drill'd,
And Whachum by my side had kill'd,
Had cross-examin'd both our hose,‡
And plunder'd all we had to lose;
Look, there he is, I see him now,
And feel the place I am run thro':
And there lies Whachum by my side,
Stone-dead, and in his own blood dy'd.
Oh! oh! with that he fetch'd a groan,
And fell again into a swoon;
Shut both his eyes, and stopt his breath,
And to the life out-acted death,
That Hudibras, to all appearing,
Believ'd him to be dead as herring.

* The ancient atomic philosophers, Democritus, Epicurus, &c. held that sense in brutes, and cogitation and volition in men, were produced by impression of corporeal atoms on the brain. Cartesius allowed no sense nor cogitation to brutes. He supposed that sensitive principles were immaterial as well as rational ones, and therefore concluded that brutes could have no sense, unless their sensitive souls were immaterial and immortal substances. Antonius Magnus, another Frenchman, published a book near the Author's time, De carentiâ sensus et cognitionis in brutis. But the author perhaps meant to ridicule Sir Kenelm Digby, who relates this story of the fox, and maintains that there was no thought nor cunning, but merely a particular disposition of atoms.

† The reader may recollect the very humorous circumstances of Falstaff's counterfeited death. Shakspeare, First Part of Henry IV. Act v.

‡ Trunk-hose with pockets to them.

He held it now no longer safe,
To tarry the return of Ralph,
But rather leave him in the lurch :*
Thought he, he has abus'd our church,†
Refus'd to give himself one firk,
To carry on the public work,
Despis'd our synod-men like dirt,
And made their discipline his sport ;
Divulg'd the secrets of their classes,
And their conventions prov'd high places ;‡
Disparag'd their tithe-pigs, as pagan,
And set at nought their cheese and bacon ;
Rail'd at their covenant, and jeer'd
Their rev'rend parsons, to my beard ;
For all which scandals, to be quit
At once, this juncture falls out fit.
I'll make him henceforth, to beware,
And tempt my fury if he dare :
He must, at least, hold up his hand,§
By twelve freeholders to be scann'd.
Who, by their skill in palmistry,‖
Will quickly read his destiny,
And make him glad to read his lesson,
Or take a turn for't at the session :¶

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* The different sects of dissenters left each other in the lurch, whenever an opportunity offered of promoting a separate interest.

† This and the following lines have been produced by some as an argument to prove that the poem was enigmatical and figurative ; but it only proves that Hudibras represents the Presbyterians, and Ralpho the Independents.

‡ That is, corruptions in discipline—rank popery and idolatry.

§ Culprits, when they are tried, hold up their hands at the bar.

‖ From palma. Alluding to the method of telling fortunes by inspection of lines in the palm of the hand.

¶ That is, claim the benefit of clergy, or be hanged. Tom Nash,* a writer of *farces*—[there are but three dramatic works

* This Tom Nash should not be confounded with Thomas Nash, barrister, of the Inner Temple, who is buried in that church, and has the following inscription.

Depositum Thomæ Nash generosi honesta orti familia in agro Vigorniensi viri charitate humilitate eximii et mire mansueti Græce Latine Gallice et Italice apprime docti plurium (quos scripsit transtulit elucidavit edidit) librorum authoris jure amplectandi interioris templi annos circiter 30 repagularis non solidi minus quam synceri

Tho. Nash obiit 25°. Augusti 1648.

I have never seen any of his works, but am informed that the School of Potentates, translated from the Latin, with observations, in octavo, 1648, was his, and that he probably wrote the fourfold discourse in quarto, 1632. He was a zealous royalist, contrary to the sentiments of his two brothers ; the eldest a country gentleman in Worcestershire, of considerable estate, from whom the editor is descended, was very active in supporting the Parliament cause, and

Unless his light and gifts prove truer
Than ever yet they did, I'm sure;
For if he 'scape with whipping now,
'Tis more than he can hope to do:
And that will disengage my conscience
Of th' obligation, in his own sense:
I'll make him now by force abide,
What he by gentle means deny'd,
To give my honour satisfaction,
And right the brethren in the action.
This being resolv'd, with equal speed,
And conduct, he approach'd his steed,
And with activity unwont,
Essay'd the lofty beast to mount;

---

of his, Dido a tragedy, and two comedies]—in Queen Elizabeth's reign, who died before the year 1606, is supposed by Dr. Farmer to satirize Shakspeare for want of learning, in the following words: "I leave," saith he, "all these to the mercy of their "mother-tongue, that feed on nought but the crumbs that fall "from the translator's trencher, that could scarcely latinize *their* "*neck verse*, if they should have neede." Dr. Lodge calls Nash our true English Aretine: and John Taylor, the water poet, makes an oath by "sweete satyriche Nash his urne:" his works, in three volumes quarto, were printed 1600, and purchased for the Royal Library, at an auction in Whitehall, about the year 1785, for thirty pounds.

[In the sale of Dr. Wright's Library in 1787, a collection (not an *edition*) of his works, consisting of twenty-one pieces of various dates, was sold for £12. 15; see Dibdin's Bibliomania, p. 534; but if it was bought for the King's Library there must be some error in the Sale Catalogue in attributing all the Tracts to Nash, as there are but ten under his name in the Catalogue of the Royal Library.

As Dr. Nash has here indulged a natural vanity upon a subject more interesting to himself than to the reader of Hudibras, a somewhat similar indulgence, in this edition, may perhaps be pardoned when the incidental mention of the Royal Library occasions it. This truly regal library is now deposited in the British Museum. It was, *ab initio*, formed under the personal direction of His late Majesty George the Third, by Sir Frederick Barnard, his librarian, and Mr. George Nicol, his bookseller; and remains an honorable proof of the king's liberal pursuit and love of knowledge, and of the skilful industry of the men he so judiciously employed in its collection.]

the government by Cromwell. The younger brother commanded a troop of horse in the parliament service, was member of parliament for the city of Worcester, and an active justice of peace under the Protector: the family quarrel on political accounts, and which was carried on with the greatest animosity, and most earnest desire to ruin each other, together with the decline of the king's affairs, and particularly the execution of his person, so affected the spirits of Mr. Thomas Nash, that he determined not long to survive it. The editor hopes the reader will excuse this periautology and account of his great-grandfather, and his two younger brothers—he at this day feels the effects of their family quarrels and party zeal.

Which once atchiev'd, he spurr'd his palfry,
To get from th' enemy and Ralph free;
Left danger, fears, and foes behind,
And beat, at least three lengths, the wind.* 1190

* ——volucremque fuga prævertitur Eurum.
——agente nimbos
Ocyor Euro.

AN HEROICAL EPISTLE

OF

HUDIBRAS TO SIDROPHEL.*

Ecce iterum Crispinus.

Well, Sidrophel, tho' 'tis in vain
To tamper with your crazy brain,
Without trepanning of your skull,†
As often as the moon's at full,
'Tis not amiss, ere ye 're giv'n o'er,
To try one desp'rate med'cine more;
For where your case can be no worse,
The desp'rat'st is the wisest course.
Is't possible that you, whose ears
Are of the tribe of Issachar's,‡

---

* This Epistle was not published till many years after the preceding canto, and has no relation to the character there described. Sidrophel, in the poem, is a knavish fortune-teller, whose ignorance is compensated by a large share of cunning. In the Epistle he is ignorant indeed, but the defect is made up by conceitedness, assurance, and a solemn exterior. It should seem that Mr. Butler had received an affront or injury from some person of moderate abilities, who had obtained, notwithstanding, a respectable situation, and stood high in the opinion of the world; and that he addressed the offending party by the title of Sidrophel, because he had already applied this name to a vain pretender to science, and had already made it contemptible. The style is serious, the remarks are pointed and severe; and the author does not hold up the character here in his usual way, as an object of ridicule, but gravely upbraids the man as a credulous assuming liar, in a manner that more resembles the acrimony of Juvenal, than the delicacy of Horace. I could wish that this Epistle had been consigned to oblivion, or else published in some other part of his works. But it has appeared so long in this place, that I have not thought myself at liberty to reject it.

† A chirurgical operation to remove part of the skull, when it presses upon the brain. It is said to have restored the understanding, and was proposed as a remedy for the disorder with which Dean Swift was afflicted.

‡ Alluding to Genesis xlix. 14: "Issachar is a strong ass."

And might, with equal reason, either
For merit, or extent of leather,
With William Pryn's, before they were
Retrench'd, and crucify'd, compare,
Shou'd yet be deaf against a noise
So roaring as the public voice?
That speaks your virtues free and loud,
And openly in ev'ry crowd,
As loud as one that sings his part
T' a wheel-barrow, or turnip-cart,
Or your new nick-nam'd old invention
To cry green-hastings with an engine;*
As if the vehemence had stunn'd,
And torn your drum-heads with the sound;†
And 'cause your folly's now no news,
But overgrown, and out of use,
Persuade yourself there's no such matter,‡
But that 'tis vanish'd out of nature;
When folly, as it grows in years,
The more extravagant appears;
For who but you could be possest
With so much ignorance and beast,
That neither all men's scorn and hate,
Nor being laugh'd and pointed at,
Nor bray'd so often in a mortar,§

* Green-hastings was a well-known apple formerly, though not mentioned in Philips's Cider: winter-hastings is a well-known pear. Dust-men and news-carriers in London sound a trumpet or ring a bell, to avoid a continual exertion of the voice. May not this passage point at the improvement of the speaking-trumpet newly invented by Sir Samuel Morland?

[Hastings, from hasty. Peas that come early. See Todd's Johnson, where this passage is quoted. The London crier uses it only for peas.]

† Drum-heads, that is, the drum of your ears.

‡ i. e. is it possible that you should *persuade yourself*.

§ *Bray'd*, from the Saxon word bjacan, to pound or grind. "Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat "with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him." Prov. xxvii. 22. Anaxarchus was pounded in a mortar by order of Nicocreon, tyrant of Cyprus:

> Aut ut Anaxarchus pillâ minuaris in altâ
> Jactaque pro solitis frugibus ossa sonent.
> Ovid. in Ibin: 571.

Some of the primitive martyrs were ground in mills; as Victor of Marseilles, under Maximian. "Martyrem toto mox corpore "rotatu celeri conterendum pistoriæ moli supponunt: Tunc elec-"tum Dei frumentum sine miseratione conteritur." Passio Victoris Massiliensis, apud Colomesii opera, p. 729. St. Ignatius, perhaps, alludes to this species of punishment in his Epistles to the Romans, ch. iv.: σῖτός εἰμι θεοῦ καὶ δι' ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλή-

Can teach you wholesome sense and nurture,
But, like a reprobate, what course
Soever us'd, grow worse and worse?
Can no transfusion of the blood,
That makes fools cattle, do you good?*
Nor putting pigs to a bitch to nurse,
To turn them into mongrel curs:†
Put you into a way, at least,
To make yourself a better beast?
Can all your critical intrigues,
Of trying sound from rotten eggs;‡
Your sev'ral new-found remedies,
Of curing wounds and scabs in trees;
Your arts of fluxing them for claps,
And purging their infected saps·

θομαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὑρεθω τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Again, *ἀλησμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος*. ibid. And I have little doubt but the words *Αρταμων αλησμοι*, in Eunapius's Life of Maximus, p. 83, Genev. ed., which have given the critics so much trouble, relate to a similar act of cruelty.

Nurture here means breeding, or good manners. Thus Chaucer in his Reves Tale, line 3965:

> What for hire kinrede, and hire nortelrie,
> That she had lerned in the nonnerie.

* In the last century several persons thought it worth their while to transfuse the blood of one living creature into the veins of another; and, if we may believe their account, the operation had good effects. It has even been performed on human subjects. Dr. Mackenzie has described the process in his History of Health, p. 431. He seems to think that the transfusion of blood had not a fair trial, and that the experiments might have been pushed farther. Dr. Lower and others countenanced this practice. Sir Edmund King, a favorite of Charles II., was among the philosophers of his time, who made the famous experiment of transfusing the blood of one animal into another. See Phil. Trans. abr. iii. 224, and the additions and corrections to Pennant's London. His picture is in the College of Physicians. Shadwell ridicules this practice in his Virtuoso, where Sir Nicholas Gimcrack relates some experiments of this transfusion and their effects. The lines from v. 39 to 59, allude to various projects of the first establishers of the Royal Society. See Birch's history of that body, vol. i. 303; vol. ii. 48, 50, 54, 115, 117, 123, 125, 161, 312. See also Ward's Gresham Professors, pp. 101, 273. *That makes fools cattle*, i. e. more valuable at least than they were before; or perhaps makes them greater fools than they were before.

† As a note on these lines, a curious story from Giraldus Cambrensis, of a sow that was suckled by a bitch, and acquired the sagacity of a hound or spaniel. See Butler's Remains, vol i. p. 12.

‡ On the first establishment of the Royal Society, some of the members engaged in the investigation of these and similar subjects. The society was incorporated July 15, 1662.

Recovering shankers, crystallines,
And nodes and blotches in their reins,
Have no effect to operate
Upon that duller block, your pate?
But still it must be lewdly bent
To tempt your own due punishment;
And, like your whimsy'd chariots,* draw
The boys to course you without law;†
As if the art you have so long
Profess'd, of making old dogs young,‡
In you had virtue to renew
Not only youth, but childhood too:
Can you, that understand all books,
By judging only with your looks,
Resolve all problems with your face,
As others do with B's and A's;
Unriddle all that mankind knows
With solid bending of your brows?
All arts and sciences advance,
With screwing of your countenance,
And with a penetrating eye,
Into th' abstrusest learning pry;
Know more of any trade b' a hint,
Than those that have been bred up in't,§
And yet have no art, true or false,
To help your own bad naturals?
But still the more you strive t' appear,
Are found to be the wretcheder:
For fools are known by looking wise,

* I know not the scheme proposed by the society, perhaps the chariot to go with legs instead of wheels, as mentioned before; or perhaps they might hope to introduce the famous chariot of Stevinus, which was moved by sails, and carried twenty-eigh passengers, among whom were prince Maurice, Buzanval, and Grotius, over the sands of Scheveling, fourteen Dutch miles, in two hours, as Grotius himself affirms.

† That is, to follow you close at the heels: to give law among sportsmen is to let the creature that is to be hunted run a considerable way before the dogs are suffered to pursue.—See Remains.

‡ See Butler's Genuine Remains, vol. ii. 188. His want of judgment inclines him naturally to the most extravagant undertakings, like that of "making old dogs young; stopping up of words in bottles," &c.

§ Printing was invented by a soldier, gunpowder by a monk, and several branches of the clothing trade by a bishop: this is said agreeably to the vulgar notion concerning Bishop Blaze, the patron saint of the wool-combers. But he obtained that honor, not on account of any improvements he made in the trade, but because he suffered martyrdom by having his flesh torn by card-ing-irons. See the Martyrology for the third of February.

As men find woodcocks by their eyes.
Hence 'tis because ye 've gained o' th' college*
A quarter share, at most, of knowledge,
And brought in none, but spent repute,
Y' assume a pow'r as absolute
To judge, and censure, and controll,
As if you were the sole sir Poll,
And saucily pretend to know
More than your dividend comes to:
You'll find the thing will not be done
With ignorance and face alone;
No, tho' ye 've purchas'd to your name,
In history, so great a fame;†
That now your talent's so well-known,
For having all belief out-grown,
That ev'ry strange prodigious tale
Is measur'd by your German scale,‡
By which the virtuosi try
The magnitude of ev'ry lie,
Cast up to what it does amount,

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* Though the Royal Society removed from Gresham College on account of the fire of London, it returned there again, 1674, being the year in which this Epistle was published.

† I am inclined to think that the character of Sidrophel, in this Epistle, was designed rather for Sir Paul Neile than for Lilly, or perhaps has some strokes at both of them, notwithstanding Dr. Grey's thinking that "these two lines plainly discover that Lilly "(and not Sir Paul Neal) was lashed under the name of Sidro-"phel; for Lilly's fame abroad was indisputable." The poet seems to allude to Sir Paul in the eighty-sixth line, as he had before done to Sir Samuel Luke. Sir Paul had offended Mr. Butler by saying that he was not the author of Hudibras; or perhaps Sir Poll here might allude to Sir Politick Would-be in Ben Jonson's Volpone. In history, some historians as well as travellers have been famous for telling wonderful lies or stories; or, perhaps, a glance might be here intended at Sprat's History of the Royal Society. Mr. Thyer, in Butler's Remains, says "he "can assure the reader, upon the poet's own authority, that the "character of Sidrophel was intended for a picture of Sir Paul "Neile, who was son of Richard Neile, (whose father was a "chandler in Westminster,) who, as Anthony Wood says, went "through all degrees and orders in the church, schoolmaster, cu-"rate, vicar, &c. &c. and at last was archbishop of York." Sir Paul was one of the first establishers of the Royal Society: which society, in the dawn of science, listening to many things that appeared trifling and incredible to the generality of the people, became the butt and sport of the wits of the times. Browne Willis, in his Survey of York Cathedral, says, that archbishop Neile left his son Sir Paul Neile executor, whom, though he left rich, (as he did his wife 300*l.* a year for her life,) yet he soon run it out, without affording his father a gravestone.

‡ All incredible stories are now measured by your standard. One German mile is equal to four miles English or Italian.

And place the bigg'st to your account;
That all those stories that are laid
Too truly to you, and those made,
Are now still charg'd upon your score,
And lesser authors nam'd no more.
Alas! that faculty betrays
Those soonest it designs to raise;
And all your vain renown will spoil,
As guns o'ercharg'd the more recoil;
Though he that has but impudence,
To all things has a fair pretence;
And put among his wants but shame,
To all the world may lay his claim:
Tho' you have tried that nothing's borne
With greater ease than public scorn,
That all affronts do still give place
To your impenetrable face;
That makes your way thro' all affairs,
As pigs thro' hedges creep with theirs;
Yet as 'tis counterfeit and brass,
You must not think 'twill always pass;
For all impostors, when they're known,
Are past their labour, and undone:
And all the best that can befal
An artificial natural,
Is that which madmen find, as soon
As once they've broke loose from the moon,
And proof against her influence,
Relapse to e'er so little sense,
To turn stark fools, and subjects fit
For sport of boys, and rabble-wit.

PART III. CANTO I.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Knight and Squire resolve at once,
The one the other to renounce;
They both approach the Lady's bower,
The Squire t' inform, the Knight to woo her
She treats them with a masquerade,
By furies and hobgoblins made;
From which the Squire conveys the Knight,
And steals him from himself by night.

HUDIBRAS.

PART III. CANTO I.

'Tis true, no lover has that pow'r
T' enforce a desperate amour,
As he that has two strings to's bow,
And burns for love and money too;
For then he's brave and resolute,
Disdains to render in his suit;*
Has all his flames and raptures double,
And hangs or drowns with half the trouble;
While those who sillily pursue
The simple downright way, and true,
Make as unlucky applications,
And steer against the stream their passions.
Some forge their mistresses of stars,
And when the ladies prove averse,
And more untoward to be won
Than by Caligula the moon,†
Cry out upon the stars for doing
Ill offices, to cross their wooing,
When only by themselves they're hindred,
For trusting those they made her kindred,‡
And still the harsher and hide-bounder,
The damsels prove, become the fonder;

* That is surrender, or give up: from the French.

† This was one of the extravagant follies of Caligula: "Caius noctibus quidem plenam fulgentemque lunam invitabat assidue in amplexus, atque concubitum." Suetonius, in vitâ C. Calig sect. 22.

‡ The meaning is, that when men have flattered their mistresses extravagantly, and declared them to be possessed of accomplishments more than human; they must not be surprised if they are treated in return with that distant reserve which beings of a superior order may rightly exercise toward inferior dependent creatures: nor have they room for complaint, since the injury which they sustain is an effect of their own indiscretion.

For what mad lover ever dy'd
To gain a soft and gentle bride?
Or for a lady tender-hearted,
In purling streams or hemp departed?
Leap'd headlong int' Elysium,
Thro' th' windows of a dazzling room?*
But for some cross ill-natur'd dame,
The am'rous fly burnt in his flame.
This to the Knight could be no news,
With all mankind so much in use;
Who therefore took the wiser course,
To make the most of his amours,
Resolv'd to try all sorts of ways,
As follows in due time and place.
No sooner was the bloody fight
Between the wizard and the knight,
With all th' appurtenances over,
But he relaps'd again t' a lover;
As he was always wont to do,
When he 'ad discomfited a foe,
And us'd the only antique philters,
Deriv'd from old heroic tilters.†
But now triumphant and victorious,
He held th' atchievement was too glorious
For such a conqueror to meddle
With petty constable or beadle;
Or fly for refuge to the hostess
Of th' inns of court and chanc'ry, justice;
Who might, perhaps, reduce his cause
To th' ordeal trial of the laws;‡

---

* Drowned themselves. Objects reflected by water appear nearly the same as when they are viewed through a window, or through the windows of a room so high from the ground that it dazzles one to look down from it. Thus Juvenal, Sat. vi. v. 31. Altæ caligantesque fenestræ: which Holyday translates, dazzling high windows. Ἡλατ' ἀφ' ὑψηγου τείχεος εἰς Ἀΐδην, Callimachus, Ep. 29, where Ἀΐδην does not mean hell, but the place of departed souls, comprehending both Elysium and Tartarus.

† The heroes of romance endeavored to conciliate the affections of their mistresses by the fame of their illustrious exploits. So was Desdemona won. Shakspeare's Othello, Act i.

"She loved me for the dangers I had past."

‡ *Ordeal* comes from the Anglo-Saxon ordal, which is also derived from the Teutonic, and signifies judgment. The methods of trial by fire, water, or combat, were in use till the time of Henry III., and the right of exercising them was annexed to several lordships or manors. At this day, when a culprit is arraigned at the bar, and asked how he will be tried, he is directed to an-

Where none escape, but such as branded,
With red-hot irons, have past bare-handed;
And if they cannot read one verse
I' th' psalms, must sing it, and that's worse.*
He, therefore, judging it below him,
To tempt a shame the dev'l might owe him,
Resolv'd to leave the Squire for bail
And mainprize for him, to the jail,
To answer, with his vessel, all†
That might disastrously befall.
He thought it now the fittest juncture
To give the Lady a rencounter;
T' acquaint her with his expedition,
And conquest o'er the fierce magician;
Describe the manner of the fray,
And shew the spoils he brought away;
His bloody scourging aggravate,
The number of the blows and weight:
All which might probably succeed,
And gain belief he 'ad done the deed:
Which he resolv'd t' enforce and spare
No pawning of his soul to swear;
But, rather than produce his back,
To set his conscience on the rack;
And, in pursuance of his urging
Of articles perform'd, and scourging,
And all things else, upon his part,
Demand delivery of her heart,
Her goods and chattels, and good graces,
And person, up to his embraces.
Thought he, the ancient errant knights
Won all their ladies' hearts in fights,
And cut whole giants into fitters,‡

swer, "by God and my country," by the verdict or solemn opinion of a jury. "By God" only, would formerly have meant the ordeal, which referred the case immediately to the divine judgment.

* When persons claimed the benefit of clergy, they were required to read a verse in the Bible, generally in the Psalms. It was usual, too, for the clergyman who attended an execution, to give out a psalm to be sung. So that the common people said, if they could not read their neck verse at sessions, they must sing it at the gallows.

† In this term the saints unwittingly concurred with the grave old philosophers, who termed the body σκεῦος.

‡ Some editions read *fritters;* but the corrected one of 1678 has *fitters*, a phrase often used by romance writers, very frequently by the author of the Romant of Romants. Our author joins

To put them into am'rous twitters;
Whose stubborn bowels scorn'd to yield,
Until their gallants were half kill'd;
But when their bones were drubb'd so sore,
They durst not woo one combat more,
The ladies' hearts began to melt,
Subdu'd by blows their lovers felt.
So Spanish heroes, with their lances,
At once wound bulls and ladies' fancies;*
And he acquires the noblest spouse
That widows greatest herds of cows;
Then what may I expect to do,
Who 've quelled so vast a buffalo?
Meanwhile the Squire was on his way,
The Knight's late orders to obey;
Who sent him for a strong detachment
Of beadles, constables and watchmen,
T' attack the cunning man for plunder
Committed falsely on his lumber;
When he, who had so lately sack'd
The enemy, had done the fact,
Had rifled all his pokes and fobs
Of gimcracks, whims, and jiggumbobs,
Which he by hook or crook had gather'd,
And for his own inventions father'd:
And when they should, at jail-delivery,
Unriddle one another's thievery,
Both might have evidence enough
To render neither halter-proof.†
He thought it desperate to tarry,
And venture to be accessory;
But rather wisely slip his fetters,
And leave them for the Knight, his betters.
He call'd to mind th' unjust foul play
He would have offer'd him that day,

---

with Cervantes in burlesquing the subjects and style of roman ces. [*Fitters*, small fragments, from fetta, Ital. fetzen, Germ.

They look and see the stones, the words, and letters,
All cut and mangled, in a thousand *fitters*.
Harrington's Ariosto, xxiv. 40.

* The bull-feasts at Madrid have been frequently described The ladies take a zealous part at these combats.

† The mutual accusations of the knight and Sidrophel, if established, might hang both of them. *Halter-proof* is to be in no danger from a halter, as musket-proof in no danger from a musket: to render neither halter-proof is to render both in danger of being hanged.

To make him curry his own hide,
Which no beast ever did beside,
Without all possible evasion,
But of the riding dispensation:*
And therefore, much about the hour
The Knight, for reason told before,
Resolv'd to leave him to the fury
Of justice, and an unpack'd jury,
The Squire concurr'd to abandon him,
And serve him in the self-same trim;†
T' acquaint the Lady what h' had done,
And what he meant to carry on;
What project 't was he went about,
When Sidrophel and he fell out;
His firm and stedfast resolution,
To swear her to an execution;‡
To pawn his inward ears to marry her,§
And bribe the devil himself to carry her
In which both dealt, as if they meant
Their party saints to represent,
Who never fail'd, upon their sharing
In any prosperous arms-bearing,
To lay themselves out to supplant
Each other cousin-german saint.
But ere the Knight could do his part,
The Squire had got so much the start,
He 'ad to the lady done his errand,
And told her all his tricks aforehand.

---

* Ralpho considers that he should not have escaped the whipping intended for him by the knight, if their dispute had not been interrupted by the riding-shew, or skimmington.

† The author has long had an eye to the selfishness and treachery of the leading parties, the Presbyterians and Independents. A few lines below he speaks more plainly:

> In which both dealt as if they meant
> Their party saints to represent,
> Who never fail'd, upon their sharing
> In any prosperous arms-bearing,
> To lay themselves out to supplant
> Each other cousin-german saint.

The reader will remember that Hudibras represents the Presbyterians, and Ralpho the Independents: this scene therefore alludes to the manner in which the latter supplanted the former in the civil war.

‡ To swear he had undergone the stipulated whipping, and then demand the performance of her part of the bargain.

§ His honor and conscience, which might forfeit some of their immunities by perjury, as the outward ears do for the same crime in the sentence of the statute law

Just as he finish'd his report,
The Knight alighted in the court,
And having ty'd his beast t' a pale,
And taking time for both to stale,
He put his band and beard in order,
The sprucer to accost and board her:*
And now began t' approach the door,
When she, wh' had spy'd him out before,
Convey'd th' informer out of sight,
And went to entertain the Knight:
With whom encountering, after longees†
Of humble and submissive congees,
And all due ceremonies paid,
He strok'd his beard and thus he said:‡
Madam, I do, as is my duty,
Honour the shadow of your shoe-tie;§
And now am come, to bring your ear
A present you'll be glad to hear;
At least I hope so: the thing's done,
Or may I never see the sun;
For which I humbly now demand
Performance at your gentle hand;
And that you'd please to do your part,
As I have done mine to my smart.

---

* Thus Polonius:

> Away, I do beseech you, both away;
> I'll *board* him presently.—O, give me leave.—
> How does my good lord Hamlet?

† That is, after darting himself forward, as fencers do when they make a thrust.

‡ Nec tamen ante adiit, etsi properabat adire,
Quam se composuit, quam circumspexit amictus,
Et finxit vultum, et meruit formosa videri;
Tunc sic orsa loqui. Ovid. Metam. l. iv. l. 317.

Thus Cleveland, in his poem on the Mixed Assembly, p. 43:

> That Isaac might go stroke his beard, and sit
> Judge of εἰς ἄδου and elegerit.

In Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, lib. iii. p. 349. "And now being come within compass of discerning her, he began to "frame the loveliest countenance that he could; stroking up his "legs, setting up his beard in due order, and standing bolt up "right."

§ [Mr. Todd finds this rhyme used before by Crashaw, in his Delights of the Muses, published in 1646:

> I wish her beauty,
> That owes not all its duty
> To gaudy tire, or glistering *shoe-ty*.]

With that he shrugg'd his sturdy back,
As if he felt his shoulders ake:
But she, who well enough knew what,
Before he spoke, he would be at,
Pretended not to apprehend
The mystery of what he mean'd,
And therefore wish'd him to expound
His dark expressions less profound.
Madam, quoth he, I come to prove
How much I've suffer'd for your love,
Which, like your votary, to win,
I have not spar'd my tatter'd skin ;*
And, for those meritorious lashes,
To claim your favour and good graces.
Quoth she, I do remember once†
I freed you from th' enchanted sconce ;‡
And that you promis'd, for that favour,
To bind your back to th' good behaviour,§
And for my sake and service, vow'd
To lay upon 't a heavy load,
And what 't would bear to a scruple prove,
As other knights do oft' make love.
Which, whether you have done or no,
Concerns yourself, not me, to know ;
But if you have, I shall confess,
Y' are honester than I could guess.
Quoth he, If you suspect my troth,
I cannot prove it but by oath ;
And, if you make a question on't,
I'll pawn my soul that I have don't:
And he that makes his soul his surety,
I think does give the best security.
Quoth she, Some say the soul's secure
Against distress and forfeiture ;
Is free from action, and exempt
From execution and contempt ;
And to be summon'd to appear
In th' other world's illegal here,‖

* Roman Catholics used to scourge themselves before the image of a favorite saint.

† The lady here with affected drollery says *once*, as if the event had happened some time before, though in reality it was only the preceding day.

‡ From the stocks.

§ It should seem a better reading would be, as in the later editions,

To bind your *back to 'ts* good behaviour.

‖ Alluding to the famous story of Peter and John de Carva

And therefore few make any account,
Int' what incumbrances they run't:
For most men carry things so even
Between this world, and hell, and heaven,*
Without the least offence to either,
They freely deal in all together,
And equally abhor to quit
This world for both, or both for it:
And when they pawn and damn their souls,
They are but pris'ners on paroles
For that, quoth he, 'tis rational,
They may be accountable in all:†
For when there is that intercourse
Between divine and human pow'rs,
That all that we determine here
Commands obedience ev'ry where;‡
When penalties may be commuted§
For fines, or ears, and executed,
It follows, nothing binds so fast
As souls in pawn and mortgage past:
For oaths are the only tests and scales
Of right and wrong, and true and false;
And there's no other way to try
The doubts of law and justice by.
Quoth she, What is it you would swear?
There's no believing till I hear:
For, 'till they're understood, all tales,
Like nonsense, are not true nor false.

---

jal, who, being unjustly condemned for murder, and taken for execution, summoned the king, Ferdinand the Fourth of Spain, to appear before God's tribunal in thirty days. The king laughed at the summons; but, though he remained apparently in good health on the day before, he died on the thirtieth day. Mariana says, there can be no doubt of the truth of this story.

* That is, between this world and the next, or a future state. Men have dealings without any scruple in both at the same time; that is, they are not so completely good as not to have some concern for this, nor yet so completely wicked as not to have some for the next; they have an equal abhorrence at the thoughts of quitting this world for the next, of forsaking their manner of living on account of their belief of a future state: or quitting the next world for this, that is, of forsaking their belief of a future state on account of their enjoyments of this world.

† That is, as to that, it stands to reason that men may be accountable in this world, and in the next.

‡ He seems at no loss for an application of a text in Scripture, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven."

§ The knight argues that, since temporal punishments may be mitigated and commuted, the best securities for truth and honesty are those expectations which affect man in his spiritual state.

Quoth he, When I resolv'd t' obey
What you commanded th' other day,
And to perform my exercise,
As schools are wont, for your fair eyes;
T' avoid all scruples in the case,
I went to do't upon the place;
But as the castle is enchanted
By Sidrophel the witch, and haunted
With evil spirits, as you know,
Who took my Squire and me for two,*
Before I'd hardly time to lay
My weapons by, and disarray,
I heard a formidable noise,
Loud as the Stentrophonic voice,†
That roar'd far off, Dispatch and strip,
I'm ready with th' infernal whip,
That shall divest thy ribs of skin
To expiate thy ling'ring sin;
Thou 'ast broke perfidiously thy oath,
And not perform'd thy plighted troth,
But spar'd thy renegado back,
Where thou hadst so great a prize at stake,‡
Which now the fates have order'd me
For penance and revenge, to flea,
Unless thou presently make haste;
Time is, time was; and there it ceast.§
With which, tho' startl'd, I confess,
Yet th' horror of the thing was less
Than the other dismal apprehension
Of interruption or prevention;
And therefore, snatching up the rod,
I laid upon my back a load,
Resolv'd to spare no flesh and blood,
To make my word and honour good;
Till tir'd, and taking truce at length,
For new recruits of breath and strength,

* For two evil and delinquent spirits.

† Thus Homer, Iliad, v. 785:

Στέντορι εἰσαμένη μεγαλήτορι χαλκεοφώνῳ.

And Juv. Sat. xiii. 112:

Tu miser exclamas, ut Stentora vincere possis.

The speaking trumpet was a little before the publication of this canto much improved by Sir Samuel Morland, one of the first establishers of the Royal Society.

‡ The later editions, perhaps with more propriety, read, *when thou 'adst*. But *where* in old authors means whereas.

§ This alludes to the well-known story of the brazen head.

I felt the blows still ply'd as fast,
As if they 'ad been by lovers plac'd,
In raptures of Platonic lashing,
And chaste contemplative bardashing:*
When facing hastily about,
To stand upon my guard and scout,†
I found th' infernal cunning man,
And th' under-witch, his Caliban,‡
With scourges, like the furies, arm'd,
That on my outward quarters storm'd.
In haste I snatch'd my weapon up,
And gave their hellish rage a stop;
Call'd thrice upon your name,§ and fell
Courageously on Sidrophel,
Who now transform'd himself t' a bear,‖
Began to roar aloud, and tear;
When I as furiously press'd on,
My weapon down his throat to run,
Laid hold on him; but he broke loose,
And turn'd himself into a goose,
Div'd under water, in a pond,
To hide himself from being found;
In vain I sought him; but as soon
As I perceived him fled and gone,
Prepar'd, with equal haste and rage
His under-sorc'rer to engage;
But bravely scorning to defile
My sword with feeble blood, and vile,
I judg'd it better from a quick-
Set-hedge to cut a knotted stick,
With which I furiously laid on;

* The epithets chaste and contemplative are used ironically. See Genuine Remains, vol. i. 69, and vol. ii. 352. Dr. Bulwer, in his Artificial Changeling, p. 269, says, "The Turks call those that "are young, and have no beards, bardasses."

† Sir Samuel Luke was scout-master.

‡ See Shakspeare's Tempest.

§ Bantering the romance writers, whose heroes frequently invoke their mistresses:

—— numero deus impare gaudet.
Virg. eclog. viii.

‖ Thus Ovid. Metam. lib. viii. 732:

Nam modo te juvenem, modo te vidère leonem:
Nunc violentus aper, nunc, quem tetigisse timerent,
Anguis eras: modo te faciebant cornua taurum,
Sæpe lapis poteras, arbor quoque sæpe videri.

When I as furiously.—Some editions read, perhaps better:

When as I furiously—

Till, in a harsh and doleful tone,
It roar'd, O hold, for pity, Sir,
I am too great a sufferer,*
Abus'd as you have been b' a witch,
But conjur'd int' a worse caprich,† 310
Who sends me out on many a jaunt,
Old houses in the night to haunt,
For opportunities t' improve
Designs of thievery or love;
With drugs convey'd in drink or meat, 315
All feats of witches counterfeit;
Kill pigs and geese with powder'd glass,
And make it for enchantment pass;
With cow-itch‡ meazle like a leper,
And choke with fumes of guinea pepper; 320
Make lechers, and their punks, with dewtry,
Commit fantastical advowtry;§

---

* *O, for pity*, is a favorite expression of Spenser. Polydore, in Virgil, Æn. iii. 41, says:

Quid miserum, Æneа, laceras? jam parce sepulto:
Parce pias scelerare manus.

† That is, whim, fancy, from the Italian, capriccio.

‡ Cowage is a plant from the East Indies, the pod of which is covered with short hairs: if these hairs are applied to the skin, they cause an itching for a short time; they are often used by young people to tease one another with.

§ *Dewtry*, or *datura*, is a plant, growing chiefly in the East Indies, whose seeds and flowers have an intoxicating quality. They who are skilled in the management of this drug, can, it is said, proportion the dose of it so as to suppress the senses for any particular number of hours. The Abyssinians likewise have an herb, called by the Caffres, banquini, and by the Portuguese, dutra, which, if taken in meat or drink, produces a stupor, and continues it for the space of twenty-four hours. See Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia, Dissertation on the Eastern Side of Africa, p. 226. Duncan gave wine, and bread steeped in the juice of this herb (which some suppose to be the stramonium) to Iveno, king of Norway, and by the effect of it preserved the town of Bartha, in Scotland, from his attacks. Buchanan, Hist. Scot. lib. vii. Among the inquiries recommended by Sir Robert Moray, and sent by the Royal Society to Sir Philiberto Vernatti, resident at Batavia, are the following: "Whether the Indians can so prepare that stupifying herb datura, that they make it lie several "days, months, years, according as they will have it, in a man's "body, without doing him any hurt, and at the end kill him, "without missing half an hour's time? Whether those that be "stupified by the juice of this herb, are recovered by moistening "the soles of their feet in fair water?" See Spratt's History of the Royal Society, pp. 161 and 162. "Henr. Salmuthus Comm. "in nova reperta Pancirolli, lib. i. tit. 1. Daturam appellat du- "troam; et ex floribus, ait, bulbi quandam speciem oriri, in quo "nuclei sunt, melonum semini similes, qui cibo potionique per- "mixti utentis cerebrum pervadunt, ac stultitiam quandam cum "risu continuo, absque alio sensu, aut ulla rerum notitia, exci-

Bewitch hermetic men to run
Stark staring mad with manicon ;*
Believe mechanic virtuosi
Can raise 'em mountains in Potosi ;
And sillier than the antic fools,
Take treasure for a heap of coals ;†

"tent, tandemque somnum inducant. Addit ex Christopheri a "Costa lib. de aromat. cap. de datura, Indorum Lusitanorumque "uxores nucleos eos subinde ignaris maritis exhibere, ac deinde "ipsis spectantibus ac ridentibus, securè adulteris sui copiam fa- "cere : ex somno vero excitatos nullius rei meminisse, sed sopore "tantum levi se correptos fuisse sibi imaginari." Henricus Mei- bomius de cerevisiis veterum. cap. 23. Meminit Garsias ab hor- to hist. plant. novi orbis, lib. ii. c. 24, floris et seminis herbæ, quam daturam vocat, colorem roris marini æmulantis. Eum ait potuit ciboque injectum, et assumptum, homines mente quodam- modo alienare, et in risum solvere, atque amentes veluti et ebri- os facere. Gronov. Antiq. Græc. ix. p. 606.

Advowtry signifies the same with adultery. The word is used by Lord Bacon, in his Life of Henry VII. "Maximilian duke of "Burgundy spake all the evil he could devise of Charles the "French king, saying that he was the most perfidious man upon "earth, and that he had made a marriage compounded between "an *advowtry* and a rape."

The sense of the passage is, make lewd old fellows, that are past actual, commit, by means of dewtry, imaginary adultery.

* Alchymists, who pretend to things beyond the power of art. See a long character of the hermetic philosopher full of wit and learning, Butler's Remains, vol. ii. p. 225. *Manicon* is an herb, so called from its power of causing madness. Banquo, in Shak- speare's Macbeth, seems to allude to it when he says :

> Were such things here, as we do speak about ?
> Or have we eaten of the insane root,
> That takes the reason prisoner ? Act i.

Meibomius de cerevisis, xxiii. 10. Est in eodum censu strych- non, sive manicum, sive halicacabum, quæ interdum confundunt auctores. De eo Theophrastus Hist. Plant. ix. 12, ait drachmæ pondere potum efficere *παίζειν τινὰ καὶ δοκεῖν ἑαυτῷ κάλλιστον* Plinius xxi. ex eo lusum gigni, speciesque vanas imaginesque conspicuas obversari, affirmat. Dioscorides iv. 72, ait eadem herba pota *φαντασίας ἀποτελεῖν οὐκ ἀηδεῖς*.

† The poet here ridicules the alchymists for pretending to the power of transmuting metals, or turning baser minerals into gold. In the mountains of Potosi are the rich mines belonging to the king of Spain. The credulous disciples of these philoso- phers our author calls *antick fools*. Antic, antick, or antique, because the cheat began to be out of fashion when Mr. Butler wrote this part of his book—soon after the Restoration. Or per- haps by *antic fools* he might mean those silly dreamers, among the ancients, who gave occasion to the proverb, "pro thesauro "carbones ;" they dreamed of gold, but on examination found coals ; it is frequently applied by Lucian. And Phædrus v. fab. vi. Ben Jonson uses the word antique in two senses.

The last line is not clearly expressed. If it had been written, "For treasure take an heap of coals," or "Turn treasure to an "heap of coals," the meaning would have been more obvious.

Seek out for plants with signatures,
To quack of universal cures ;*
With figures, ground on panes of glass,
Make people on their heads to pass ;†
And mighty heaps of coin increase,
Reflected from a single piece ;
To draw in fools, whose nat'ral itches
Incline perpetually to witches,
And keep me in continual fears,
And danger of my neck and ears ;
When less delinquents have been scourg'd,
And hemp on wooden anvils forg'd,
Which others for cravats have worn
About their necks, and took a turn.
I pity'd the sad punishment
The wretched caitiff underwent,
And held my drubbing of his bones
Too great an honour for poltroons ;
For knights are bound to feel no blows
From paltry and unequal foes,‡
Who when they slash and cut to pieces,
Do all with civillest addresses :
Their horses never give a blow,
But when they make a leg and bow.§
I therefore spar'd his flesh, and prest him
About the witch, with many a question.
Quoth he, For many years he drove

* Plants whose leaves resemble the form of some or other of the vitals, or have marks or figures upon them representing any cuticular affection, were thought to point out their own medicinal qualities. Thus wood-sorrel was used as a cordial, because its leaf is shaped like a heart. Liverwort was given for disorders of the liver. The herb dragon was employed to counteract the effects of poison, because its stem is speckled like some serpents. The yellow juice of the celandine recommended it for the cure of the jaundice. And Paracelsus said, that the spots which appear on the leaves of the Persicaria maculosa, proved its efficacy in the scurvy.

† The multiplying glass, concave mirror, camera obscura, and other inventions, which were new in our author's time, passed with the vulgar for enchantments; and as the law against witches was then in force, the exhibiters of these curiosities were in some danger of being sentenced to Bridewell, the pillory, or the halter.

‡ According to the rules of knight-errantry. See Don Quixote, (book iii. ch. i.,) and romances in general.

§ i. e. the courteous knight never strikes his horse but when he stumbles ; but Mr. T. B. gives it a different sense, and thinks it alludes to the action of a horse when the rider gives it a blow on the head ; ducking the head, and throwing out the leg, being not unlike an awkward bow.

A kind of broking-trade in love,*
Employ'd in all th' intrigues and trust,
Of feeble speculative lust
Procurer to th' extravagancy,
And crazy ribaldry of fancy,
By those the devil had forsook,
As things below him, to provoke;
But b'ing a virtuoso, able
To smatter, quack, and cant, and dabble,
He held his talent most adroit,
For any mystical exploit,
As others of his tribe had done,
And rais'd their prices three to one;
For one predicting pimp has th' odds
Of chaldrons of plain downright bawds.
But as an elf, the devil's valet,
Is not so slight a thing to get,†
For those that do his bus'ness best,
In hell are us'd the ruggedest;
Before so meriting a person
Cou'd get a grant, but in reversion,
He serv'd two 'prenticeships, and longer,
I' th' myst'ry of a lady-monger.
For, as some write, a witch's ghost,‡
As soon as from the body loos'd,
Becomes a puisney-imp itself
And is another witch's elf,
He, after searching far and near,
At length found one in Lancashire,
With whom he bargain'd beforehand,
And, after hanging, entertain'd:
Since which he 'as play'd a thousand feats,
And practis'd all mechanic cheats:
Transform'd himself to th' ugly shapes
Of wolves and bears, baboons and apes,
Which he has vary'd more than witches,
Or Pharaoh's wizards cou'd their switches;§
And all with whom he 'as had to do,

* He transacted the business of intrigues; was a pimp.

† William Lilly tells us he was fourteen years before he could get an elf, or ghost of a departed witch. At last he found one in Lancashire, a country always famous for witches. Thus Cleveland, p. 76:

Have you not heard the abominable sport
A Lancashire grand jury will report.

‡ A better reading would be, *Now*, as some write.

§ See Exodus vii.

Turn'd to as monstrous figures too:
Witness myself, whom he 'as abus'd,
And to this beastly shape reduc'd,
By feeding me on beans and peas,
He crams in nasty crievices,
And turns to comfits by his arts,
To make me relish for deserts,
And one by one, with shame and fear,
Lick up the candy'd provender.
Beside—But as h' was running on,
To tell what other feats he'ad done,
The lady stopt his full career,
And told him, now 'twas time to hear.
If half those things, said she, be true—
They're all, quoth he, I swear by you.
Why then, said she, that Sidrophel
Has damn'd himself to th' pit of hell,
Who, mounted on a broom, the nag
And hackney of a Lapland hag,
In quest of you came hither post,
Within an hour, I'm sure, at most,
Who told me all you swear and say,
Quite contrary, another way;
Vow'd that you came to him, to know
If you shou'd carry me or no;
And would have hir'd him and his imps,
To be your match-makers and pimps,
T' engage the devil on your side,
And steal, like Proserpine, your bride;
But he, disdaining to embrace
So filthy a design, and base,
You fell to vapouring and huffing,
And drew upon him like a ruffian;
Surpris'd him meanly, unprepar'd,
Before he 'ad time to mount his guard,
And left him dead upon the ground,
With many a bruise and desperate wound;
Swore you had broke and robb'd his house,
And stole his talismanique louse,*
And all his new-found old inventions,
With flat felonious intentions,
Which he could bring out, where he had,
And what he bought 'em for, and paid;

* The poet intimates, that Sidrophel, being much plagued with lice, had made a talisman, or formed a louse in a certain position of the stars to chase away this kind of vermin.

His flea, his morpion, and punese,
He 'ad gotten for his proper ease,*
And all in perfect minutes made,
By th' ablest artists of the trade;
Which, he could prove it, since he lost,
He has been eaten up almost,
And altogether, might amount
To many hundreds on account;
For which he 'd got sufficient warrant
To seize the malefactors errant,
Without capacity of bail,
But of a cart's or horse's tail;
And did not doubt to bring the wretches
To serve for pendulums to watches,
Which, modern virtuosi say,
Incline to hanging every way.†
Beside, he swore, and swore 'twas true,
That ere he went in quest of you,
He set a figure to discover
If you were fled to Rye or Dover;
And found it clear, that to betray
Yourselves and me, you fled this way;
And that he was upon pursuit,
To take you somewhere hereabout.
He vow'd he had intelligence
Of all that pass'd before and since;
And found, that ere you came to him,
Y' had been engaging life and limb
About a case of tender conscience,
Where both abounded in your own sense;
Till Ralpho by his light and grace,
Had clear'd all scruples in the case,
And prov'd that you might swear, and own
Whatever's by the wicked done:
For which, most basely to requite
The service of his gifts and light,
You strove t' oblige him, by main force,
To scourge his ribs instead of yours;
But that he stood upon his guard,
And all your vapouring outdar'd;
For which,‡ between you both, the feat
Has never been perform'd as yet.

* The talisman of a flea, a louse, and a bug.
† The circular pendulums for watches were invented about our author's time by Dr. Hooke.
‡ That is, on which account.

While thus the Lady talk'd, the Knight
Turn'd th' outside of his eyes to white *
As men of inward light are wont
To turn their optics in upon't;
He wonder'd how she came to know
What he had done, and meant to do;
Held up his affidavit hand,†
As if he 'ad been to be arraign'd;
Cast tow'rds the door a ghastly look,
In dread of Sidrophel, and spoke:
Madam, if but one word be true
Of all the wizard has told you,
Or but one single circumstance
In all th' apocryphal romance,
May dreadful earthquakes swallow down
This vessel, that is all your own;‡
Or may the heavens fall, and cover
These relics of your constant lover.§
You have provided well, quoth she,
I thank you for yourself and me,
And shewn your presbyterian wits
Jump punctual with the Jesuits;
A most compendious way, and civil,
At once to cheat the world, and devil,
With heaven and hell, yourselves, and those
On whom you vainly think t' impose.

---

* The dissenters are ridiculed for an affected sanctity, and turning up the whites of their eyes. Thus Ben Jonson:

——he is called for a puritan—
That used to turn up the eggs of his eyes.

And Fenton in his Poems:

Her eyes she disciplin'd precisely right,
And when to wink, and how to turn the white.

† When any one takes an oath, he puts his right hand to the book, that is, to the New Testament, and kisses it; but the covenanters, in swearing, refused to kiss the book, saying it was popish and superstitious: they substituted the ceremony of holding up the right hand, which they used also in taking any oath before the magistrate. The seceders in Scotland, who affect all the preciseness of the old covenanters, I believe still adhere to this practice.

‡ The knight has made all needful proficiency in the art of equivocation. This poor devoted vessel is—not the abject suitor, but the lady herself.

§ Here the knight still means the widow, but would have it understood of himself.

Troas, reliquias Danaum atque inmitis Achillei.
Virg. Æn. i. 30

Why then, quoth he, may hell surprise—
That trick, said she, will not pass twice:
I've learn'd how far I'm to believe
Your pinning oaths upon your sleeve;
But there's a better way of clearing
What you would prove, than downright swearing.
For if you have perform'd the feat,
The blows are visible as yet,
Enough to serve for satisfaction
Of nicest scruples in the action;
And if you can produce those knobs,
Altho' they're but the witch's drubs,
I'll pass them all upon account,
As if your nat'ral self had done 't;
Provided that they pass th' opinion
Of able juries of old women.
Who, us'd to judge all matter of facts
For bellies,* may do so for backs.
Madam, quoth he, your love's a million,
To do is less than to be willing,
As I am, were it in my power,
T' obey what you command, and more;
But for performing what you bid,
I thank you as much as if I did.
You know I ought to have a care
To keep my wounds from taking air;
For wounds in those that are all heart,
Are dangerous in any part.
I find, quoth she, my goods and chattels
Are like to prove but mere drawn battles;†
For still the longer we contend,
We are but farther off the end.
But granting now we should agree,
What is it you expect from me?
Your plighted faith, quoth he, and word
You pass'd in heaven, on record,
Where all contracts t' have and t' hold,
Are everlastingly enroll'd:
And if 'tis counted treason here
To raze records, 'tis much more there.
Quoth she, There are no bargains driv'n,

* When a woman pretends to be pregnant, in order to gain a respite from her sentence, the fact must be ascertained by a jury of matrons.

† That is, no other than matter for mere *undecisive* bickerings.

Nor marriages clapp'd up in heav'n ;*
And that's the reason, as some guess,
There is no heav'n in marriages ;
Two things that naturally press†
Too narrowly, to be at ease :
Their bus'ness there is only love,
Which marriage is not like t' improve ;‡
Love, that's too generous t' abide
To be against its nature ty'd ;
For where 'tis of itself inclin'd,
It breaks loose when it is confin'd,§
And like the soul, its harbourer,
Debarr'd the freedom of the air,
Disdains against its will to stay,
But struggles out, and flies away :
And therefore never can comply,
T' endure the matrimonial tie,
That binds the female and the male,
Where th' one is but the other's bail ;‖
Like Roman gaolers, when they slept,
Chain'd to the prisoners they kept :¶
Of which the true and faithfull'st lover
Gives best security to suffer
Marriage is but a beast, some say,**

---

* The author alludes to Mark xii. 25: "For when they shall "arise from the dead, they neither marry nor are given in mar- "riage."

† That is, bargains and marriages.

‡ Plurimus in cœlis amor est, connubia nulla :
Conjugia in terris plurima, nullus amor.

§ The widow's notions of love are similar to those of Eloise, so happily expressed by Pope:

Love, free as air, at sight of human ties,
Spreads his light wings, and in a moment flies.

So Chaucer, in his Frankeleines Tale:

Love wol not be constrained by maistrie :
Whan maistrie cometh, the god of love anon
Beteth his winges, and, farewel, he is gon.

Ælius Verus, according to Spartian, used to say, "Uxor dignitatis nomen est, non voluptatis."

‖ That is, where if one of them is faulty, the other is drawn into difficulties by it, and the truest lover gives best security to suffer, or is likely to be the greatest sufferer.

¶ The custom among the Romans was the same as among modern constables, to chain the right hand of the culprit to the left hand of the guard: Modus est, ut is qui in noxa esset, catenam manui dextræ alligatam haberet, quæ eadem militis sinistram vinciret.

** Sir Thomas Brown, author of the Vulgar Errors, and Religio Medici, speaks of the ultimate act of love as a folly beneath

That carries double in foul way,
And therefore 'tis not to be admir'd,
It should so suddenly be tir'd;
A bargain, at a venture made,
Between two partners in a trade;
For what's inferr'd by t' have and t' hold,
But something pass'd away and sold?*
That, as it makes but one of two,
Reduces all things else as low;
And at the best is but a mart
Between the one and th' other part,
That on the marriage day is paid,
Or hour of death, the bet is laid;†
And all the rest of better or worse,
Both are but losers out of purse:
For when upon their ungot heirs
Th' entail themselves and all that's theirs,
What blinder bargain e'er was driven,
Or wager laid at six and seven?
To pass themselves away, and turn
Their children's tenants ere they're born?
Beg one another idiot
To guardians, ere they are begot;

---

a philosopher, and says, that he could be content that we might procreate like trees without conjunction. But, after writing this, he descended from his philosophic dignity, and married an agreeable woman:

> The strong, the brave, the virtuous, and the wise,
> Sink in the soft captivity together.
>
> Addison's Cato.

* An equivocation. The words "to have and to hold," in the marriage ceremony, signify "I take to possess and keep;" in deeds of conveyance their meaning is, "I give to be possessed "and kept by another."

† (Thus in some editions.) The poet's allusions are sometimes far-fetched and obscure. Perhaps he means, that each party expects to find a satisfaction in marriage; and if they are a little disappointed when they come together, they will not fail to meet with it when they are separated. *Mart*, is marketing, or matter of purchase between the parties, who are only reimbursed the venture made, on the marriage day, or hour of death; and as to any thing else in marriage both parties are losers, for they settle and give away their estates to ungot heirs; consigning themselves, like idiots and lunatics, to guardians and trustees. Mr. Butler generally pursues his subject as far as he can with propriety. But I do not know that we can justify the transition, in this speech, from a lively vindication of the generous nature of love, to a long detail of the abuses and evils of matrimony. He might wish for an opportunity of satirizing the vices of the times. Beside, we learn, that he had suffered some inconveniences himself from an unfortunate marriage.

Or ever shall, perhaps, by th' one
Who's bound to vouch them for his own,
Tho' got b' implicit generation,*
And general club of all the nation;
For which she's fortify'd no less
Than all the island with four seas;†
Exacts the tribute of her dower,
In ready insolence and power,
And makes him pass away, to have
And hold to her, himself, her slave,
More wretched than an ancient villain,‡
Condemn'd to drudgery and tilling;
While all he does upon the by,
She is not bound to justify,
Nor at her proper cost or charge
Maintain the feats he does at large.
Such hideous sots were those obedient
Old vassals to their ladies regent,
To give the cheats the eldest hand
In foul play, by the laws o' th' land,
For which so many a legal cuckold
Has been run down in courts, and truckl'd:
A law that most unjustly yokes
All Johns of Stiles to Joans of Nokes,§
Without distinction of degree,
Condition, age, or quality;
Admits no pow'r of revocation,
Nor valuable consideration,
Nor writ of error, nor reverse
Of judgment past, for better or worse;
Will not allow the privileges
That beggars challenge under hedges,

* Dr. Johnson says, *implicit* signifies mixed, complicated, intricate, perplexed.

† The interpretation of the law was, that a child could not be deemed a bastard, if the husband had remained in the island, or within the four seas. See Butler's Remains, vol. i. p. 122.

‡ The villains were a sort of slaves, bound to perform the meanest and most laborious offices. They were appendages to the land, and passed with it to any purchaser: as the lord was not answerable for any thing done by his villain tenant, no more is the wife for any thing done by her villain husband, though he is bound to justify and maintain all that his wife does by the by. For which so many an injured husband has submitted to have his character run down in the courts, and suffer himself to be proved a cuckold on record, that he might recover damages from the adulterer.

§ The poet makes the latter a female: they are names given in law proceedings to indefinite persons, like Caius and Titius in the civil law.

Who, when they're griev'd, can make dead horses
Their spiritual judges of divorces ;*
While nothing else but rem in re
Can set the proudest wretches free ;
A slavery beyond enduring,
But that 'tis of their own procuring.†
As spiders never seek the fly,
But leave him, of himself, t' apply ;
So men are by themselves betray'd,
To quit the freedom they enjoy'd,
And run their necks into a noose,
They'd break 'em after to break loose.
As some, whom death would not depart,‡
Have done the feat themselves by art.
Like Indian widows, gone to bed
In flaming curtains to the dead ;§
And men as often dangled for't,
And yet will never leave the sport.
Nor do the ladies want excuse
For all the stratagems they use,
To gain th' advantage of the set,‖
And lurch the amorous rook and cheat.
For as the Pythagorean soul
Runs thro' all beasts, and fish, and fowl,¶

---

* The gipsies, it is said, are satisfied of the validity of such decisions.

† Because the statutes are framed by men :

Ζευχθεὶς γάμοισιν οὐκ ἐλεύθερός γ' ἔσῃ.
Νόμιζε γήμας δοῦλος εἶναι τῷ βίῳ.
Brunck. Poet. Gn. 224.

‡ Alluding to several reviews of the common prayer before the last, where it stood, "'til death us depart," and then altered, "'til death us do part."

§ They burn themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands. "Mulieres vero in India, cum est cujusvis earum vir "mortuus, in certamen judiciumque veniunt, quam plurimum "ille dilexerit ; plures enim singulis solent esse nuptæ. Quæ est "victrix, ea læta, prosequentibus suis, una cum viro in rogum "imponitur." Cicero, Tusc. Disputat. v. 27. Strabo says, they were obliged to do so by law, because the women were wont to poison their husbands : and of later times, those women who by any means evade the performance of it, are accounted infamous for the rest of their lives. By the English law, women who murder their husbands are deemed guilty of petty treason, and condemned to be burnt. In India, when the husband dies, and his corpse is burned, his wives throw themselves into the funeral pile ; and it is pretended they do it out of affection ; but some think the custom was instituted to deter the wife from hastening the period of her husband's existence.

‖ *Set*, that is, game, a term at tennis.

¶ Pythagoras, according to Heraclides used to say of himself

And has a smack of ev'ry one,
So love does, and has ever done ;
And therefore, though 'tis ne'er so fond,
Takes strangely to the vagabond.
'Tis but an ague that's reverst,
Whose hot fit takes the patient first,
That after burns with cold as much
As iron in Greenland does the touch ;*
Melts in the furnace of desire,
Like glass, that's but the ice of fire ;
And when his heat of fancy's over,
Becomes as hard and frail a lover :†
For when he's with love-powder laden,
And prim'd and cock'd by Miss or Madam,
The smallest sparkle of an eye
Gives fire to his artillery,
And off the loud oaths go, but, while
They're in the very act, recoil :
Hence 'tis so few dare take their chance
Without a sep'rate maintenance ;
And widows, who have try'd one lover,
Trust none again 'till they've made over ;‡
Or if they do, before they marry,
The foxes weigh the geese they carry ;
And ere they venture o'er a stream,
Know how to size themselves and them.
Whence wittiest ladies always choose
To undertake the heaviest goose :
For now the world is grown so wary,
That few of either sex dare marry,
But rather trust, on tick, t' amours,

---

that he remembered not only what men, but what plants and what animals his soul had passed through. And Empedocles declared of himself, that he had been first a boy, then a girl, then a plant, then a bird, then a fish.

* Metals, if applied to the flesh, in very cold climates, occasion extreme pain. Mr. Butler, in his MS. Common-place book, has quoted :

> Ne tenues pluviæ, rapidive potentia solis
> Acrior, aut Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurat.
> Virg. Georg. i. 92.

See Johnson on Psalm cxxi. 6, and his note. *That*, i. e. the patient.

† That is, becomes a lover as hard and frail as glass : for he melts in the furnace of desire, but then it is like the melting of glass, which, when the heat is over, is but a kind of ice.

‡ Made over their property, in trust, to a third person for their sole and separate use

The cross and pile for better or worse ;*
A mode that is held honourable,
As well as French, and fashionable :
For when it falls out for the best,
Where both are incommoded least,
In soul and body two unite,
To make up one hermaphrodite,
Still amorous, and fond, and billing,
Like Phillip and Mary on a shilling,†
They've more punctilios and capriches
Between the petticoat and breeches,
More petulant extravagances,
Than poets make 'em in romances ;
Tho', when their heroes 'spouse the dames,
We hear no more of charms and flames ;
For then their late attracts decline,
And turn as eager as prick'd wine ;
And all their catterwauling tricks,
In earnest to as jealous piques,
Which th' ancients wisely signify'd
By th' yellow mantos of the bride.‡
For jealousy is but a kind
Of clap and grincam of the mind,§

---

* Whose tonge ne pill ne crouche maie hire. J. Gower.

Here it signifies a mere chance, toss up, heads or tails. This line constitutes a sentence, which is the accusative case after the verb trust; in this sense, trust the chance for happiness or unhappiness to gallantries, for which they take one another's word.

† On the shillings of Philip and Mary, coined 1555, the faces are placed opposite, and pretty near to each other.

‡ The bride, among the Romans, was brought home to her husband in a yellow veil, called flammeum. Thus Catullus, lix. 6 :

Cinge tempora floribus
Suave-olentis amaraci :
Flammeum cape.

and Lucan, ii. 361 :

Lutea demissos velârunt flammea vultus.

The widow intimates, that the yellow color of the veil was an emblem of jealousy. The gall, which is of that color, was considered as the seat of the evil passions. We learn from Plutarch's connubial precepts, that they who sacrificed to Juno did not consecrate the gall, but threw it beside the altar : signifying that gall or anger should never attend a marriage ; but that the severity of a matron should be profitable and pleasant, like the roughness of wine, and not disagreeable and of a medicinal quality, like aloes.

§ The later editions read *crincam ;* either of them is a cant word, denoting an infectious disease, or whimsical affection, of

The natural effect of love,
As other flames and aches prove:
But all the mischief is, the doubt
On whose account they first broke out;
For tho' Chineses go to bed,
And lie-in in their ladies' stead,*
And, for the pains they took before,
Are nurs'd and pamper'd to do more;
Our green-men do it worse, when th' hapr

---

the mind, applied commonly to love, lewdness, or jealousy. Thus, in the manors of East and West Enborne, in Berkshire, if the widow by incontinence forfeits her free bench, she may recover it again, by riding into the next manor court, backward, on a black ram, with his tail in her hand, and saying the following words:

Here I am, riding upon a black ram,
Like a whore as I am:
And for my crincum crancum,
Have lost my bincum bancum.
Blount's Fragmenta Antiquitat. first ed. p. 144.

[Nares's Glossary affords the following perfectly explanatory passage: "You must know, Sir, in a nobleman 'tis abusive; no, "in him the serpigo, in a knight the *grincomes*, in a gentleman "the Neapolitan scabb, and in a serving man or artificer the "plaine pox." Jones's Adrasta, 1635. C. 2.]

* In some countries, after the wife has recovered her lying-in it has been the custom for the husband to go to bed, and be treated with the same care and tenderness. Apollonius Rhodius, II 1013, says of the Tibarini in Pontus:

Τοὺσδε μέτ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα Γενηταίου Διὸς ἄκρην
Γνάμψαντες, σώοντο παρὲξ Τιβαρηνίδα γαῖαν.
Ἔνθ' ἐπεὶ ἄρ κε τέκωνται ὑπ' ἀνδράσι τέκνα γυναῖκες,
Αὐτοὶ μὲν στενάχουσιν ἐνὶ λεχέεσσι πεσόντες,
Κράατα δησάμενοι· ταὶ δ' εὖ κομέουσιν ἐδωδῇ
Ἀνέρας, ἠδὲ λοετρὰ λεχώϊα τοῖσι πένονται.

And Valerius Flaccus, v. 148:

Inde Genetæi rupem Jovis, hinc Tibarenum
Dant virides post terga lacus; ubi deside mitrâ
Fœta ligat, partuque virum fovet ipsa soluto.

The history of mankind hath scarcely furnished any thing more unaccountable than the prevalence of this custom. We meet with it in ancient and modern times, in the old world and in the new, among nations who could never have had the least intercourse with each other. In Purchas's Pilgrim, it is said to be practised among the Brazilians. At Haerlem, a cambric cockade hung to the door, shows that the woman of the house is brought to bed, and that her husband claims a protection from arrests during the six weeks of his wife's confinement. Polnitz Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 396.

† Raw, inexperienced youths; or else the beaus and coxcombs of those days, who might delight in green clothes: or perhaps

To fall in labour of a clap;
Both lay the child to one another,
But who's the father, who the mother,
'Tis hard to say in multitudes,
Or who imported the French goods.*
But health and sickness b'ing all one,
Which both engag'd before to own,†
And are not with their bodies bound
To worship, only when they're sound,
Both give and take their equal shares
Of all they suffer by false wares;
A fate no lover can divert
With all his caution, wit, and art:
For 'tis in vain to think to guess
At women by appearances,
That paint and patch their imperfections
Of intellectual complections,
And daub their tempers o'er with washes
As artificial as their faces;
Wear under vizard-masks their talents
And mother-wits before their gallants:

---

he means a new-married couple. Shakspeare, in Hamlet, (Act iv. sc. 5,) says:

And we have done but *greenly* to inter him.

* Nicholas Monardes, a physician of Seville, who died 1577, tells us that this disease was supposed to have been brought into Europe at the siege of Naples, from the West Indies, by some of Columbus's sailors, who accompanied him to Naples on his return from his first voyage. When peace was there made between the French and Spaniards, the armies of both nations had free intercourse, and conversing with the same women, were infected by this disorder. The Spaniards thought they had received the contagion from the French, and the French maintained that it had been communicated to them by the Spaniards. Guicciardin, in the end of his second book, dates the origin of this distemper in Europe at the year 1495. Dr. Gascoigne, as quoted by Anthony Wood, says he had known several persons who had died of it in his time. Naples was besieged in the reign of our Henry VII., and Dr. Gascoigne lived in the time of Richard II. and Henry VI. His will was proved in the year 1457. The account of Monardes is erroneous in many particulars. Indeed, after all the pains which have been taken by judicious writers, to prove that this disease was brought from America or the West Indies, the fact is not sufficiently established. Perhaps it was generated in Guinea, or some other equinoctial part of Africa. As true, the best writer on this subject, says it was brought from the West Indies between the years 1494 and 1496.

† Alluding to the words of the marriage ceremony: so in the following lines,

—— with their bodies bound
To *worship*.

Until they're hamper'd in the noose,
Too fast to dream of breaking loose;
When all the flaws they strove to hide
Are made unready with the bride,
That with her wedding-clothes undresses
Her complaisance and gentilesses;
Tries all her arts to take upon her
The government, from th' easy owner;
Until the wretch is glad to wave
His lawful right, and turn her slave;
Find all his having and his holding
Reduc'd t' eternal noise and scolding;
*The conjugal petard, that tears
Down all portcullices of ears,*
And makes the volley of one tongue
For all their leathern shields too strong;
When only arm'd with noise and nails,
The female silkworms ride the males,†
Transform 'em into rams and goats,
Like syrens, with their charming notes;
Sweet as a screech-owl's serenade,
Or those enchanting murmurs made
By th' husband mandrake, and the wife,
Both bury'd, like themselves, alive.‡
Quoth he, These reasons are but strains
Of wanton, over-heated brains,
Which ralliers in their wit or drink
Do rather wheedle with, than think.
Man was not man in paradise,
Until he was created twice,
And had his better half, his bride,

---

* The poet humorously compares the noise and clamor of a scolding wife, which breaks the drum of her husband's ears, to the petard, or short cannon, beating down the gates of a castle.

† That is, the females, like silk-worms, gaudy reptiles.

‡ Ancient botanists entertained various conceits about this plant; in its forked roots they discovered the shapes of men and women; and the sound which proceeded from its strong fibres, when strained or torn from the ground, they took for the voice of a human being; sometimes they imagined that they had distinctly heard their conversation. The poet takes the liberty of enlarging upon these hints and represents the mandrake husband and wife quarrelling under ground; a situation, he says, not more uncomfortable than that of a married pair continually at variance, since these, if not in fact, are virtually buried alive. In Columella, lib. x., we have, semihomines mandragoræ flores The Hebrew word, in Genesis, may be disputed upon forever. Benoit, the historian of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, thought it meant strawberries. Chaufepié, v. Benoit.

Carv'd from th' original, his side,*
T' amend his natural defects,
And perfect his recruited sex;
Enlarge his breed, at once, and lessen
The pains and labour of increasing,
By changing them for other cares,
As by his dry'd-up paps appears.
His body, that stupendous frame,
Of all the world the anagram,†
Is of two equal parts compact,
In shape and symmetry exact,
Of which the left and female side
Is to the manly right a bride,‡
Both join'd together with such art,
That nothing else but death can part.
Those heav'nly attracts of your's, your eyes,
And face, that all the world surprise,
That dazzle all that look upon ye,
And scorch all other ladies tawny:
Those ravishing and charming graces,
Are all made up of two half faces
That, in a mathematic line,
Like those in other heav'ns, join;§
Of which, if either grew alone,

---

* Thus Cleveland:

Adam, 'til his rib was lost,
Had the sexes thus engrost.
When Providence our sire did cleave,
And out of Adam carved Eve,
Then did men 'bout wedlock treat,
To make his body up complete.

† The world in a state of transposition. Man is often called the microcosm, or world in miniature. *Anagram* is a conceit from the letters of a name transposed; though perhaps with more propriety we might read *diagram*.

‡ In the Symposium of Plato, Aristophanes, one of the dialogists relates, that the human species, at its original formation, consisted not only of males and females, but of a third kind, composed of two entire beings of different sexes. This last rebelled against Jupiter; and for a punishment, or to render its attacks the less formidable in future, was completely divided. The strong propensity which inclines the separate parts to a reunion, is, according to the same fable, the origin of love. And since it is hardly possible that the dissevered moieties should stumble upon each other, after they have wandered about the earth, we may, upon the same hypothesis, account for the number of unhappy and disproportionate matches which men daily engage in, by saying that they mistake their proper halves.

§ That is, that join insensibly in an imperceptible line, like the imaginary lines of mathematicians. *Other heavens*, that is, the real heavens.

'Twould fright as much to look upon:
And so would that sweet bud, your lip,
Without the other's fellowship.
Our noblest senses act by pairs,
Two eyes to see, to hear two ears;
Th' intelligencers of the mind,
To wait upon the soul design'd:
But those that serve the body alone,
Are single and confin'd to one.
The world is but two parts, that meet
And close at th' equinoctial fit;
And so are all the works of nature,
Stamp'd with her signature on matter;
Which all her creatures, to a leaf,
Or smallest blade of grass, receive.*
All which sufficiently declare
How entirely marriage is her care,
The only method that she uses,
In all the wonders she produces;
And those that take their rules from her
Can never be deceiv'd, nor err:
For what secures the civil life,
But pawns of children, and a wife?†
That lie, like hostages, at stake,
To pay for all men undertake;
To whom it is as necessary,
As to be born and breathe, to marry;
So universal, all mankind
In nothing else is of one mind:
For in what stupid age, or nation,
Was marriage ever out of fashion?‡
Unless among the Amazons,
Or cloister'd friars and vestal nuns,§
Or stoics, who, to bar the freaks
And loose excesses of the sex,
Prepost'rously would have all women
Turn'd up to all the world in common;‖

* The sexual differences of plants.

† Qui liberos genuit, obsides fortunæ dedit.

‡ The general prevalence of matrimony is a good argument for its use and continuance.

§ The Amazons were women of Scythian extraction, settled in Cappadocia, who, as Justin tells us, avoided marriage, accounting it no better than servitude. *Cloistered friars*, so termed by the poet, because they take a vow of celibacy like the vestals in ancient Rome. The poor vestal nuns must have a place in the catalogue.

‖ Diogenes asserted, that marriage was nothing but an empty

Tho' men would find such mortal feuds
In sharing of their public goods,
'Twould put them to more charge of lives,
Than they're supply'd with now by wives;
Until they graze and wear their clothes,
As beasts do, of their native growths:*
For simple wearing of their horns
Will not suffice to serve their turns.
For what can we pretend t' inherit,
Unless the marriage deed will bear it?
Could claim no right to lands or rents,
But for our parents' settlements;
Had been but younger sons o' th' earth,
Debarr'd it all, but for our birth.†
What honours, or estates of peers,
Could be preserv'd but by their heirs?
And what security maintains
Their right and title, but the bans?
What crowns could be hereditary,
If greatest monarchs did not marry,
And with their consorts consummate
Their weightiest interests of state?
For all th' amours of princes are
But guarantees of peace or war.
Or what but marriage has a charm,
The rage of empires to disarm?
Make blood and desolation cease,
And fire and sword unite in peace,
When all their fierce contests for forage
Conclude in articles of marriage?
Nor does the genial bed provide
Less for the int'rests of the bride,
Who else had not the least pretence
T' as much as due benevolence;

---

name. And Zeno, the father of the stoics, maintained that all women ought to be common, that no words were obscene, and no parts of the body needed to be covered.

* i. e. such intercommunity of women would be productive of the worst consequences, unless mankind were already reduced to the most barbarous state of nature, and men become altogether brutes.

† If there had been no matrimony, we should have had no provision made for us by our forefathers; but, like younger children of our primitive parent the earth, should have been excluded from every possession. He seems to reflect obliquely upon the common method of distributing the properties of families so much in favor of the elder branches, the younger sons not inheriting the land.

Could no more title take upon her
To virtue, quality, and honour,
Than ladies errant unconfin'd,
And femme-coverts t' all mankind.
All women would be of one piece,
The virtuous matron, and the miss;
The nymphs of chaste Diana's train,
The same with those in Lewkner's-lane,*
But for the diff'rence marriage makes
'Twixt wives and ladies of the lakes:†
Besides, the joys of place and birth
The sex's paradise on earth,‡
A privilege so sacred held,
That none will to their mothers yield;
But rather than not go before,
Abandon heaven at the door:§
And if th' indulgent law allows
A greater freedom to the spouse,
The reason is, because the wife
Runs greater hazards of her life;
Is trusted with the form and matter
Of all mankind, by careful nature,
Where man brings nothing but the stuff
She frames the wond'rous fabric of;‖

---

* A street in the neighborhood of Drury-lane or St. Giles's, inhabited chiefly by strumpets.

† Alluding to the old romance of Sir Lancelot and the Lady of the Lake. Mr. *Warburton.* But the corrected edition reads lakes in the plural number; and perhaps we may look for these ladies elsewhere,—in the lagunes of Venice, certain streets in Westminster, or Lambeth Marsh, Bankside, &c. &c. [*Lake*, to play; from the Gothic and Saxon, *laikan*. Used in the north of England. Todd.]

‡ Thus Mr. Pope:

> For sylphs, yet mindful of their ancient race,
> Are, as when women, wond'rous fond of place.

Our poet, though vindicating the ladies and the happy estate of matrimony, cannot help introducing this stroke of satire: Bastards have no place, or rank.

§ That is, not go to church at all, if they have not their right of precedence. Chaucer says of the wife of Bath, 451:

> In all the parish wif ne was there non,
> That to the offring before hire shulde gon,
> And if ther did, certain so wroth was she,
> That she was out of alle charitee.

‖ Various have been the attempts to explain the mystery of generation. Aristotle, Harvey, Lewenhoek, Drake, and Bartholine, have produced their different hypotheses. But from further discoveries in anatomy, supported by the strictest analogy throughout the animal and vegetable kingdoms, it appears that

Who therefore, in a strait, may freely
Demand the clergy of her belly,*
And make it save her the same way,
It seldom misses to betray ;†
Unless both parties wisely enter
Into the liturgy-indenture.
And tho' some fits of small contest
Sometimes fall out among the best,
That is no more than ev'ry lover
Does from his hackney lady suffer ;
That makes no breach of faith and love,
But rather, sometimes, serves t' improve ;‡
For as, in running, ev'ry pace
Is but between two legs a race,
In which both do their uttermost
To get before, and win the post ;
Yet when they're at their race's ends,
They're still as kind and constant friends,
And, to relieve their weariness,
By turns give one another ease ;
So all those false alarms of strife
Between the husband and the wife,
And little quarrels often prove
To be but new recruits of love ;
When those who're always kind or coy,
In time must either tire or cloy.§

---

the female furnishes the germ or ovum, which is only impregnated by the male: or, in the words of Mr. Hunter, the female produces a seed, in which is the matter fitted for the first arrangement of the organs of the animal, and which receives the principle of arrangement fitting it for action, from the male.

* As benefit of clergy may be craved in some cases of felony : so pregnant women, who have received sentence of death, may demand or crave a respite from execution, till after they are delivered.

† As their big bellies betray their incontinence, so they sometimes save their lives.

‡ Amantium iræ, amoris integratio est.
Ter. And. iii. sc. iii. 23.

In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia ; injuriæ,
Suspiciones, inimicitiæ, induciæ,
Bellum, pax rursum. Id. Eun. I. sc. i. 14.

§ *Coy* seems to be used in the French sense, for quiet, or still It has this signification both in Chaucer and Douglas. [A passage quoted by archdeacon Nares under the verb to *coy*, will explain Butler's meaning :

And while she *coys* his sooty cheeks, and curles his sweaty top
Warner's Alb. Engl. B. vi. p. 148.

And the following line from an old poem, "William and the

Nor are their loudest clamours more
Than as they're relish'd, sweet or sour;
Like music, that proves bad or good,
According as 'tis understood.
In all amours a lover burns
With frowns, as well as smiles, by turns;
And hearts have been as oft with sullen,
As charming looks, surpriz'd and stolen
Then why should more bewitching clamour
Some lovers not as much enamour?
For discords make the sweetest airs,
And curses are a kind of pray'rs;
Too slight alloys for all those grand
Felicities by marriage gain'd:
For nothing else has pow'r to settle
Th' interests of love perpetual;
An act and deed that makes one heart
Become another's counter-part,
And passes fines on faith and love,*
Inroll'd and register'd above.
To seal the slippery knots of vows,
Which nothing else but death can loose.
And what security's too strong
To guard that gentle heart from wrong,
That to its friend is glad to pass
Itself away, and all it has,
And, like an anchorite, gives over
This world, for th' heav'n of a lover?†
I grant, quoth she, there are some few
Who take that course, and find it true;
But millions, whom the same does sentence
To heav'n b' another way, repentance.
Love's arrows are but shot at rovers,‡
Tho' all they hit they turn to lovers,
And all the weighty consequents
Depend upon more blind events
Than gamesters when they play a set,
With greatest cunning, at piquet

Werwolf," may be interesting on a word that has been used in such opposite senses:

Acoyed it [a child] to come to him and clepud it oft.]

* That is, makes them irrevocable, and secures the title; as passing a fine in law does a conveyance or settlement.

† Mr. Butler, I hope, has now made amends for his former incivility. In this speech the knight has defended the ladies, and the married state, with great gallantry, wit, and good sense.

‡ That is, shot at random, passim, temere.

Put out with caution, but take in
They know not what, unsight, unseen.
For what do lovers, when they're fast
In one another's arms embrac'd,
But strive to plunder, and convey
Each other, like a prize, away?*
To change the property of selves,
As sucking children are by elves?
And if they use their persons so,
What will they to their fortunes do?
Their fortunes! the perpetual aims
Of all their extacies and flames.
For when the money's on the book,
And "all my worldly goods"—but spoke,†
The formal livery and seisin
That puts a lover in possession;
To that alone the bridegroom's wedded,
The bride a flam that's superseded;
To that their faith is still made good,
And all the oaths to us they vow'd;
For when we once resign our pow'rs,
We 've nothing left we can call ours:
Our money's now become the miss
Of all your lives and services;
And we forsaken and postpon'd,
But bawds to what before we own'd;‡
Which, as it made y' at first gallant us,
So now hires others to supplant us,
Until 'tis all turn'd out of doors,
As we had been, for new amours.
For what did ever heiress yet,
By being born to lordships get?
When the more lady she's of manors,
She's but expos'd to more trepanners,
Pays for their projects and designs,
And for her own destruction fines;
And does but tempt them with her riches,
To use her as the dev'l does witches,

---

* Quæ me surpuerat mihi. Hor. lib. iv. od. 13.

But such writers as Petronius best explain the spirit of this passage, were it fit to be explained. Transfudimus hinc et hinc labellis errantes animas.

† Alluding to the form of marriage in the common prayer-book, where the fee is directed to be put upon the book, and the bridegroom endows the bride with all his worldly goods.

‡ That is, are procurers of the Miss, our money, which we before owned.

Who takes it for a special grace,
To be their cully for a space,
That, when the time's expir'd, the drazels*
For ever may become his vassals:
So she, bewitch'd by rooks and spirits,
Betrays herself, and all sh' inherits;
Is bought and sold, like stolen goods,
By pimps, and match-makers, and bawds;
Until they force her to convey
And steal the thief himself away.
These are the everlasting fruits
Of all your passionate love-suits,
Th' effects of all your am'rous fancies,
To portions and inheritances;
Your love-sick raptures for fruition
Of dowry, jointure, and tuition;
To which you make address and courtship,
And with your bodies strive to worship,
That th' infant's fortunes may partake
Of love too,† for the mother's sake.
For these you play at purposes,
And love your loves with A's and B's;
For these, at Beste and l'Ombre woo,
And play for love and money too;‡
Strive who shall be the ablest man
At right gallanting of a fan;

* The mean, low wretches, or draggle-tails. *Drazels*, I believe, means vagrants, from an old French word, draseler, a vagabond; draser, the same as vaguer: the words signify the same in Dutch. Thus Warner, in his Albion's England:

Now does each drazel in her glass, when I was young I wot,
On holydays (for seldom else) such idle time was got.

[*Draseler* is not to be found in Roquefort, Furetierre, nor Richelet, nor is it in the Dutch Dictionaries of Halma nor Winckelman; but *dras*, in Dutch, is mud; and as Grose explains *drazil*, a dirty slut, and gives the word to the southern part of England, the Dutch language may have in this case enriched our vocabulary, and we need not go with Todd and Nares to *drotchell* and *drossel*.]

† That is, the widow's children by a former husband, that are under age, to whom the lover would be glad to be guardian, as well as have the management of the jointure.

‡ The widow, in these and the following lines, gives no bad sketch of a person who endeavors to retrieve his circumstances by marriage, and practises every method in his power to recommend himself to his rich mistress: he plays with her at questions and commands, endeavors to divert her with cards, puts himself in masquerade, flirts her fan, talks of flames and darts, aches and sufferings; which last, the poet intimates, might more justly be attributed to other causes.

And who the most genteelly bred
At sucking of a vizard-bead ;*
How best t' accost us in all quarters,
T' our question and command new garters ;†
And solidly discourse upon
All sorts of dresses pro and con :
For there's no mystery nor trade,
But in the art of love is made ;‡
And when you have more debts to pay
Than Michaelmas and Lady-day,§
And no way possible to do 't
But love and oaths, and restless suit,
To us y' apply, to pay the scores
Of all your cully'd past amours ;
Act o'er your flames and darts again,
And charge us with your wounds and pain ;
Which other's influences long since
Have charm'd your noses with, and shins ;
For which the surgeon is unpaid,
And like to be, without our aid.
Lord ! what an am'rous thing is want !
How debts and mortgages enchant !
What graces must that lady have,
That can from executions save !
What charms, that can reverse extent,
And null decree and exigent !
What magical attracts, and graces,
That can redeem from scire facias !‖
From bonds and statutes can discharge,

* Masks were kept close to the face, by a bead fixed to the inside of them, and held in the mouth.

† At the vulgar play of questions and commands, a forfeiture often was to take off a lady's garter: expecting this therefore the lady provided herself with new ones. Or she might be commanded to make the gentleman a present of a pair of new garters.

‡ That is, made use of, or practised.

§ These are the two principal rent-days in the year: unpleasant days to the tenant, and not satisfactory to the landlord, when his debts exceed his rents.

‖ Here the poet shows his knowledge of the law, and law terms, which he always uses with great propriety. *Execution* is obtaining possession of any thing recovered by judgment of law. *Extent*, the estimate of lands to their utmost value by the sheriff and jury, in order to satisfy a bond, or other engagement forfeited. *Exigent* is a writ requiring a person to appear; it lies where the defendant in an action personal cannot be found, or any thing in the county, whereby he may be distrained. *Scire facias*, a writ to show cause why execution of judgment should not go out

And from contempts of courts enlarge!
These are the highest excellencies
Of all your true or false pretences;
And you would damn yourselves, and swear
As much t' an hostess dowager,
Grown fat and pursy by retail
Of pots of beer and bottled ale,
And, find her fitter for your turn,
For fat is wondrous apt to burn;
Who at your flames would soon take fire,
Relent, and melt to your desire,
And like a candle in the socket,
Dissolve her graces int' your pocket.
By this time 'twas grown dark and late,
When th' heard a knocking at the gate
Laid on in haste, with such a powder,
The blows grew louder still and louder:
Which Hudibras, as if they 'ad been
Bestow'd as freely on his skin,
Expounding by his inward light,
Or rather more prophetic fright,
To be the wizard, come to search,
And take him napping in the lurch,
Turn'd pale as ashes, or a clout;
But why, or wherefore, is a doubt:
For men will tremble, and turn paler,
With too much, or too little valour.
His heart laid on, as if it try'd
To force a passage through his side,*
Impatient, as he vow'd, to wait 'em,
But in a fury to fly at 'em;
And therefore beat, and laid about,
To find a cranny to creep out.
But she, who saw in what a taking
The Knight was by his furious quaking,
Undaunted cry'd, Courage, sir Knight,
Know I'm resolv'd to break no rite
Of hospitality t' a stranger;
But, to secure you out of danger,
Will here myself stand sentinel,
To guard this pass 'gainst Sidrophel:
Women, you know, do seldom fail
To make the stoutest men turn tail,
And bravely scorn to turn their backs,
Upon the desp'ratest attacks.

* Ἕκτορί τ' αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι πάτασσεν. Il. vii. 216.

At this the Knight grew resolute,
As Ironside, or Hardiknute ;*
His fortitude began to rally,
And out he cry'd aloud, to sally ;
But she besought him to convey
His courage rather out o' th' way,
And lodge in ambush on the floor,
Or fortify'd behind a door,
That, if the enemy should enter,
He might relieve her in th' adventure.
Meanwhile they knock'd against the door,
As fierce as at the gate before ;
Which made the renegado Knight
Relapse again t' his former fright.
He thought it desperate to stay
Till th' enemy had forc'd his way,
But rather post himself, to serve
The lady for a fresh reserve.
His duty was not to dispute,
But what she 'ad order'd execute ;
Which he resolv'd in haste t' obey,
And therefore stoutly march'd away,
And all h' encounter'd fell upon,
Tho' in the dark, and all alone ;
Till fear, that braver feats performs
Than ever courage dar'd in arms,
Had drawn him up before a pass,
To stand upon his guard, and face ;
This he courageously invaded,
And, having enter'd, barricado'd ;
Ensconc'd himself as formidable
As could be underneath a table ;
Where he lay down in ambush close,
T' expect th' arrival of his foes.
Few minutes he had lain perdue,
To guard his desp'rate avenue,
Before he heard a dreadful shout,
As loud as putting to the rout,
With which impatiently alarm'd,
He fancy'd th' enemy had storm'd,
And after ent'ring, Sidrophel
Was fall'n upon the guards pellmell ;
He therefore sent out all his senses
To bring him in intelligences,

* Two princes celebrated for their valor in our histories. The former lived about the year 1016, the latter 1037.

Which vulgars, out of ignorance,
Mistake for falling in a trance;
But those that trade in geomancy,*
Affirm to be the strength of fancy;
In which the Lapland magi deal,
And things incredible reveal.
Mean while the foe beat up his quarters,
And storm'd the outworks of his fortress;
And as another of the same
Degree and party, in arms and fame,
That in the same cause had engag'd,
And war with equal conduct wag'd,
By vent'ring only but to thrust
His head a span beyond his post,
B' a gen'ral of the cavaliers
Was dragg'd thro' a window by the ears:†
So he was serv'd in his redoubt,
And by the other end pull'd out.
Soon as they had him at their mercy,
They put him to the cudgel fiercely,
As if they scorn'd to trade and barter,‡
By giving, or by taking quarter:
They stoutly on his quarters laid,
Until his scouts came in t' his aid:§
For when a man is past his sense,
There's no way to reduce him thence,
But twinging him by th' ears or nose,
Or laying on of heavy blows:

* A sort of divination by clefts or chinks in the ground. Polydore Virgil de inventione rerum, supposes it to have been invented by the magi of Persia.

† A right honorable gentleman of high character,* now living, assured me that this circumstance happened to one of his relations, Sir Richard (Dr. Grey calls him Sir Erasmus) Philips, of Picton castle, in Pembrokeshire. The Cavaliers, commanded by Colonel Egerton, attacked this place, and demanded a parley. Sir Richard consented; and being a little man, stepped upon a bench, and showed himself at one of the windows. The Colonel, who was high in stature, sat on horseback underneath; and pretending to be deaf, desired the other to come as near him as he could. Sir Richard then leaned a good deal from the window; when the Colonel seized him by the ears, and drew him out. Soon after, the castle surrendered.

‡ Pyrrhus says to the Romans, from Ennius, in Tully's Offices:

Nec mi aurum posco, nec mi pretium dederitis;
Nec cauponantes bellum, sed belligerantes,
Ferro, non auro vitam cernamus utrique.

§ I. e. till his senses returned.

* Earl of Orford

And if that will not do the deed,
To burning with hot irons proceed.
No sooner was he come t' himself
But on his neck a sturdy elf
Clapp'd in a trice his cloven hoof,
And thus attack'd him with reproof.
Mortal, thou art betray'd to us
B' our friend, thy evil genius,
Who for thy horrid perjuries,
Thy breach of faith, and turning lies,
The brethren's privilege, against
The wicked, on themselves, the saints,
Has here thy wretched carcass sent,
For just revenge and punishment;
Which thou hast now no way to lessen,
But by an open, free confession:*
For if we catch thee failing once,
'Twill fall the heavier on thy bones.
What made thee venture to betray,
And filch the lady's heart away,
To spirit her to matrimony?—
That which contracts all matches, money.
It was th' enchantment of her riches,
That made m' apply t' your crony witches;† 1180
That in return would pay th' expence,
The wear and tear of conscience,‡

* This scene is imitated, but with much less wit and learning, in a poem called Dunstable Downs, falsely attributed to Mr Samuel Butler. See the third volume of the Remains. In that poem, whoever was the author, the allusion to the high court of justice, and trial of Charles the First, is apposite. See Bradshaw's speech to the king:

This court is independent on
All forms, and methods, but its own.
And will not be directed by
The persons they intend to try.
And I must tell you, you're mistaken,
If you propose to save your bacon,
By pleading to your jurisdiction,
Which will admit of no restriction.
Here's no appeal, nor no demurrer,
Nor after judgment writ of error.
If you persist to quirk or quibble,
And on your terms of law to nibble,
The court's determin'd to proceed,
Whether you do, or do not plead.

† Your old friends and companions
‡ The knight confesses that he would have sacrificed his conscience to money. In reality, he had gotten rid of it long before.

Which I could have patch'd up, and turn'd,
For th' hundredth part of what I earn'd.
Didst thou not love her then? Speak true.
No more, quoth he, than I love you.—
How would'st thou've us'd her, and her money?
First turn'd her up to alimony,*
And laid her dowry out in law,
To null her jointure with a flaw,
Which I beforehand had agreed
T' have put, on purpose, in the deed,
And bar her widow's-making-over
T' a friend in trust, or private lover.
What made thee pick and chuse her out
T' employ their sorceries about?—
That which makes gamesters play with those
Who have least wit, and most to lose.
But didst thou scourge thy vessel thus,
As thou hast damn'd thyself to us?—
I see you take me for an ass:
'Tis true, I thought the trick would pass,
Upon a woman, well enough,
As 't has been often found by proof,
Whose humours are not to be won
But when they are impos'd upon;
For love approves of all they do
That stand for candidates, and woo.
Why didst thou forge those shameful lies
Of bears and witches in disguise?—
That is no more than authors give
The rabble credit to believe;
A trick of following the leaders,
To entertain their gentle readers;
And we have now no other way
Of passing all we do or say;
Which, when 'tis natural and true,
Will be believ'd b' a very few,
Beside the danger of offence,
The fatal enemy of sense.
Why dost thou chuse that cursed sin,
Hypocrisy, to set up in?—
Because it is the thriving'st calling,
The only saints' bell that rings all in;†

* To provide herself, as horses do when they are turned to grass. The poet might possibly design a jeu de mot. *Alimony* is a separate maintenance paid by the husband to the wife, where she is not convicted of adultery.

† The small bell, which rings immediately before the minister

In which all churches are concern'd,
And is the easiest to be learn'd:
For no degrees, unless th' employ it,
Can ever gain much, or enjoy it.
A gift that is not only able
To domineer among the rabble,
But by the laws empower'd to rout,
And awe the greatest that stand out;
Which few hold forth against, for fear
Their hands should slip, and come too near;
For no sin else, among the saints,
Is taught so tenderly against.
What made thee break thy plighted vows?—
That which makes others break a house,
And hang, and scorn ye all, before
Endure the plague of being poor*
Quoth he, I see you have more tricks
Than all your doating politics,
That are grown old and out of fashion,
Compar'd with your new reformation;
That we must come to school to you,
To learn your more refin'd and new.
Quoth he, If you will give me leave
To tell you what I now perceive,
You'll find yourself an arrant chouse
If y' were but at a meeting-house.
'Tis true, quoth he, we ne'er come there,
Because w' have let 'm out by th' year.†
Truly, quoth he, you can't imagine
What wond'rous things they will engage in;
That as your fellow fiends in hell
Were angels all before they fell,
So are you like to be agen,
Compar'd with th' angels of us men.‡

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begins the church service, is called the saints' bell; and when the clerk has rung this bell, he says, "he has rung all in."

* *Scorn*, that is, defy your law and punishment.

† The devils are here looked upon as landlords of the meeting houses, since the tenants of them were known to be so diabolical, and to hold them by no good title; but as it was uncertain how long these lawless times would last, the poet makes the devil let them only by the year: now when any thing is actually let, we landlords never come there, that is, have excluded ourselves from all right to the premises.

‡ I remember an old attorney, who told me, a little before his death, that he had been reckoned a very great rascal, and believed he was so, for he had done many roguish and infamous things in his profession: "but," adds he, "by what I can observe of the rising generation, the time may come, and you may live

Quoth he, I am resolv'd to be
Thy scholar in this mystery;
And therefore first desire to know
Some principles on which you go.
What makes a knave a child of God,*
And one of us?†—A livelihood.
What renders beating out of brains,
And murder, godliness?—Great gains.
What's tender conscience?—'Tis a botch
That will not bear the gentlest touch;
But, breaking out, dispatches more
Than th' epidemical'st plague-sore.‡
What makes y' encroach upon our trade,
And damn all others?—To be paid.
What's orthodox and true believing
Against a conscience?—A good living.§
What makes rebelling against kings
A good old cause?—Administ'rings.‖
What makes all doctrines plain and clear?—
About two hundred pounds a year.
And that which was prov'd true before,
Prov'd false again?—Two hundred more.
What makes the breaking of all oaths
A holy duty?—Food and clothes.
What laws and freedom, persecution?—
B'ing out of power, and contribution.
What makes a church a den of thieves?—

"to see it, when I shall be accounted a very honest man, in "comparison with those attorneys who are to succeed me."

* A banter on the pamphlets in those days, under the name and form of catechisms: Heylin's Rebel's Catechism, Watson's Cavalier Catechism, Ram's Soldier's Catechism, Parker's Political Catechism, &c. &c.

† Both Presbyterians and Independents were fond of saying *one of us;* that is, one of the holy brethren, the elect number, the godly party.

‡ Alluding to the plague, of which, in our author's time, viz. in 1665, died 68,586 persons, within the bills of mortality.

§ A committee was appointed November 11, 1646, to inquire into the value of all church livings, in order to plant an able ministry, as was pretended; but, in truth, to discover the best and fattest benefices, that the champions for the cause might choose for themselves. Whereof some had three or four a-piece: a lack being pretended of competent pastors. When a living was small, the church doors were shut up. Dugdale's Short View. "I could name an assembly-man," says Sir William Dugdale, "who being told by an eminent person, that a certain "church had no incumbent, inquired the value of it; and re-"ceiving for answer that it was about £50 a year, he said, 'If I "'be no better worth, no godly man will accept it.'"

‖ —Administerings. See P. iii. c. ii. v. 55.

A dean and chapter, and white sleeves.*
And what would serve, if those were gone,
To make it orthodox?—Our own.
What makes morality a crime,†
The most notorious of the time;
Morality, which both the saints
And wicked too cry out against?—
'Cause grace and virtue are within
Prohibited degrees of kin;
And therefore no true saint allows
They shall be suffer'd to espouse:
For saints can need no conscience,
That with morality dispense;
As virtue's impious, when 'tis rooted
In nature only, and not imputed:
But why the wicked should do so,
We neither know, nor care to do.‡
What's liberty of conscience,
I' th' natural and genuine sense?—
'Tis to restore, with more security,
Rebellion to its ancient purity;
And Christian liberty reduce
To th' elder practice of the Jews;
For a large conscience is all one,
And signifies the same with none.§
It is enough, quoth he, for once,
And has repriev'd thy forfeit bones:
Nick Machiavel had ne'er a trick,
Tho' he gave his name to our old Nick,‖

* That is, a bishop who wears lawn sleeves.

† Moral goodness was deemed a mean attainment, and much beneath the character of saints, who held grace and inspiration to be all meritorious, and virtue to have no merit; nay, some even thought virtue impious, when it is rooted only in nature, and not imputed; some of the modern sects are supposed to hold tenets not very unlike to this.

‡ The author shows his abhorrence of vice, in whatever party it was found, by satirizing the loose principles of the cavaliers.

§ It is reported of Judge Jefferys, that taking a dislike to a witness who had a long beard, he told him that, "if his conscience was as long as his beard, he had a swinging one:" to which the countryman replied, "My lord, if you measure conscience by beards, you yourself have none at all."

‖ Machiavel was recorder of Florence in the 16th century, an eminent historian, and consummate politician. In a note on the Merry Wives of Windsor, and in Dr. Grey's edition of Hudibras, Mr Warburton has altered this passage. He reads the last line:

Though he gave *aim* to our old Nick.

But as all the editions published by the author himself, or in the author's lifetime, have the word *name*, I am unwilling to change

But was below the least of these,
That pass i' th' world, for holiness.
This said, the furies and the light
In th' instant vanish'd out of sight.
And left him in the dark alone,
With stinks of brimstone and his own.
The queen of night, whose large command
Rules all the sea, and half the land,*
And over moist and crazy brains,
In high spring-tides, at midnight reigns,†
Was now declining to the west,
To go to bed and take her rest ;‡
When Hudibras, whose stubborn blows
Deny'd his bones that soft repose,§
Lay still expecting worse and more,
Stretch'd out at length upon the floor;
And tho' he shut his eyes as fast
As if he 'ad been to sleep his last,
Saw all the shapes that fear or wizards,

---

it. Mr. Butler, who seems well versed in the Saxon and northern etymologies, could not be ignorant that the terms nicka, nocca, nicken, and from thence the English, *old nick*, were used to signify the devil, long before the time of Machiavel. A malignant spirit is named *old nicka*, in Sir William Temple's Essay on Poetry. [*Necken*, dæmon aquaticus. Dan. *nicken*, *nocken*. Germ. *nicks*. L. B. *nocca*. Isl. *nikur*. Angl. *nick*. Belg. *necker*. Putatur in fluviis et lacubus residere, et natantes per pedes arreptos ad se pertrahere.—Ihre Gloss. Suiogothicum.] When Machiavel is represented as such a proficient in wickedness, that his name hath become no unworthy appellation for the devil himself, we are not less entertained by the smartness of the sentiment, than we should be if it were firmly supported by the truth of history. In the second canto, Empedocles is said to have been acquainted with the writings of Alexander Ross, who did not live till about 2000 years after him. A humorous kind of wit, in which the droll genius of Butler does not scruple to indulge itself.

* The moon, which influences the tides and motions of the sea, and half mankind, who are lunatic, more or less.

Nunc terram potius quam mare luna regit.
Owen. Epig. 90.

† Insane persons are supposed to be worst at the change and full of the moon, when the tides are highest.

‡ He had before described the approach of day by the rising of the sun: he now employs the setting of the moon for that purpose.

§ Lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum.
At non infelix animi Phœnissa ; neque unquam
Solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem
Accipit: ingeminant curæ Æneid. iv. 528

Do make the devil wear for vizards,*
And pricking up his ears, to hark
If he could hear, too, in the dark,
Was first invaded with a groan,
And after, in a feeble tone,
These trembling words: Unhappy wretch,
What hast thou gotten by this fetch,
Or all thy tricks, in this new trade,
Thy holy brotherhood o' th' blade?†
By sauntring still on some adventure,
And growing to thy horse a centaur?
To stuff thy skin with swelling knobs
Of cruel and hard-wooded drubs?
For still thou'st had the worst on't yet,
As well in conquest as defeat:
Night is the sabbath of mankind,
To rest the body and the mind,‡
Which now thou art deny'd to keep,
And cure thy labour'd corpse with sleep.
The Knight, who heard the words, explain'd

* It may be amusing to compare this burlesque with the serious sublime of Milton. Paradise Lost, ii. 625:

——— all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, unutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,
Gorgons and hydras, and chimæras dire.

† This religious knight-errantry: this search after trifling offences, with intent to punish them as crying sins. Ralpho, who now supposed himself alone, see Part iii. canto iii. v. 89, vents his sorrows in this soliloquy, or expostulation, which is so artfully worded, as equally to suit his own case, and the knight's, and to censure the conduct of both. Hence the latter applies the whole as meant and directed to himself, and comments upon it accordingly to v. 1400, after which the squire improves on his master's mistake, and counterfeits the ghost in earnest. Compare Part iii. c. iii. v. 151–158. This seems to have been Butler's meaning, though not readily to be collected from his words: his readers are left in the dark almost as much as his heroes. Bishop Warburton supposes that the term *holy brotherhood* alludes to the society instituted in Spain, called La Santa Hermandad, employed in detecting and apprehending thieves and robbers, and executing other parts of the police. See them frequently mentioned in Don Quixote, Gil Blas, &c.

‡ Plutarch thus addresses the superstitious person: "Heaven "gave us sleep, as a relief and respite from our affliction. Why "will you convert this gift into a painful instrument of torture; "and a durable one too, since there is no other sleep for your "soul to flee to. Heraclitus says, that to men who are awake "there is a common world; but every one who sleeps is in a "world of his own. Yet not even in sleep is the superstitious "man released from his troubles: his reason indeed slumbers, "but his fears are ever awake, and he can neither escape from "them nor dislodge them." De Superstitione

As meant to him this reprimand,
Because the character did hit
Point-blank upon his case so fit;
Believ'd it was some drolling spright
That staid upon the guard that night,
And one of those he 'ad seen, and felt
The drubs he had so freely dealt;
When, after a short pause and groan,
The doleful Spirit thus went on:
  This 'tis t' engage with dogs and bears
Pellmell together by the ears,
And after painful bangs and knocks,
To lie in limbo in the stocks,
And from the pinnacle of glory
Fall headlong into purgatory;
  Thought he, this devil's full of malice,
That on my late disasters rallies,
Condemn'd to whipping, but declin'd it,
By being more heroic-minded;
And at a riding handled worse,
With treats more slovenly and coarse;*
Engag'd with fiends in stubborn wars,
And hot disputes with conjurers;
And, when thou 'adst bravely won the day,
Wast fain to steal thyself away.
  I see, thought he, this shameless elf
Would fain steal me too from myself,
That impudently dares to own
What I have suffer'd for and done;
And now, but vent'ring to betray,
Hast met with vengeance the same way.
  Thought he, how does the devil know
What 'twas that I design'd to do?
His office of intelligence,
His oracles, are ceas'd long since;
And he knows nothing of the saints,
But what some treach'rous spy acquaints.
This is some pettifogging fiend,
Some under doorkeeper's friend's friend,
That undertakes to understand,
And juggles at the second-hand,
And now would pass for spirit Po,†

* This shows the meaning of the riding dispensation, l. 124.

† Po, or Bo, the son of Odin, was a fierce Gothic captain, whose name was repeated by his soldiers to surprise or frighten their enemies. See Sir William Temple's fourth essay. [Mr. Todd says, the northern Captain will suffer no great loss, if the

And all men's dark concerns foreknow.
I think I need not fear him for 't;
These rallying devils do no hurt.
With that he rous'd his drooping heart,
And hastily cried out, What art?—
  A wretch, quoth he, whom want of grace
Has brought to this unhappy place.
  I do believe thee, quoth the Knight;
Thus far I'm sure thou'rt in the right;
And know what 'tis that troubles thee,
Better than thou hast guess'd of me.
Thou art some paltry, blackguard spright,
Condemn'd to drudg'ry in the night;
Thou hast no work to do in th' house,
Nor halfpenny to drop in shoes;*
Without the raising of which sum
You dare not be so troublesome
To pinch the slatterns black and blue,
For leaving you their work to do.
This is your bus'ness, good Pug-Robin,
And your diversion dull dry bobbing,†

---

etymology be transferred from his redoubted name to the Dutch *bauw*, a spectre; but probably Minsheu gives the clue to this most grave etymology when, after a *bugge*, a bugbear, he says Belgic, Bietebauw, Beetebauw, a bijten, i. mordere et bauw, i. vox fictitia à sono quo solent infantes territare.]

* Servant-maids were told, if they left the house clean when they went to bed, they would find money in their shoes; if dirty, they would be pinched in their sleep. Thus the old ballad of Robin Goodfellow, who perhaps was the sprite meant by Pug Robin:

> When house or hearth doth sluttish lie,
> I pinch the maids both black and blue:
> And from the bed, the bedcloths I
> Pull off, and lay them nak'd to view.

Again, speaking of fairies:

> Such sort of creatures as would bast ye
> A kitchen wench for being nasty:
> But if she neatly scour her pewter,
> Give her the money that is due to her.
> Every night before we goe,
> We drop a tester in her shoe.

See also Parnell and Shakspeare, in many places.

† Robin Goodfellow, in the creed of ancient superstition, was a kind of merry sprite, whose character and achievements are frequently recorded, particularly in the well-known lines of Milton. In an ancient ballad, entitled Robin Goodfellow:

> From hag-bred Merlin's time have I
> Thus nightly revell'd to and fro,
> And for my pranks men call me by
> The name of Robin Goodfellow;

T' entice fanatics in the dirt,
And wash 'em clean in ditches for't;*
Of which conceit you are so proud,
At ev'ry jest you laugh aloud,
As now you would have done by me,
But that I barr'd your raillery.
Sir, quoth the voice, ye 're no such sophy†
As you would have the world judge of ye.
If you design to weigh our talents
I' th' standard of your own false balance,
Or think it possible to know
Us ghosts, as well as we do you,
We who have been the everlasting
Companions of your drubs and basting,
And never left you in contest,
With male or female, man or beast,
But prov'd as true t' ye, and entire,
In all adventures, as your Squire.
Quoth he, That may be said as true
By th' idlest pug of all your crew;
For none could have betray'd us worse;
Than those allies of ours and yours.‡
But I have sent him for a token
To your low-country Hogen-Mogen,
To whose infernal shores I hope
He'll swing like skippers in a rope:
And if ye've been more just to me
As I am apt to think, than he,

Fiends, ghosts, and sprightes,
Who haunt the nightes,
The hags and goblins do me know,
And beldames old
My feates have told,
So vale, vale, ho, ho, ho.

[*Puck, Pug, Pouke;* a fiend. Puke, Diabolus. Ihre Gloss. Suiogothicum.]

Bobbing, that is, mocking, jesting with. *Dry bobbing*, a dry jest, or bob: illusio, dicterium.

* See Hoffman's Lexicon, iii. 305. Sub voc. Neptunus (ex Gervas. Tilleberiens.) dæmonis quoddam genus, Angli Portunos nominant. Portunus nonunquam invisus equitanti se copulat, et cum diutius comitatur, eundem tandem loris arreptis equum in lutum ad manum ducit, in quo dum infixus volutatur, protinus exiens cachinnum facit, et sic hujus modi ludibrio humanam simplicitatem deridet.

† You are no such wise person, or sophister, from the Greek σόφος.

‡ Meaning the Independents, or Ralpho, whom he says he had sent to the infernal Hogen Mogen, high and mighty, or the devil, supposing he would be hung.

I am afraid it is as true
What th' ill-affected say of you:
Ye 've 'spous'd the covenant and cause,
By holding up your cloven paws.*
Sir, quoth the Voice, 'tis true, I grant,†
We made, and took the covenant:
But that no more concerns the cause,
Than other perj'ries do the laws,
Which, when they've prov'd in open court,
Wear wooden peccadillos for't:‡
And that's the reason cov'nanters
Hold up their hands, like rogues at bars.§
I see, quoth Hudibras, from whence
These scandals of the saints commence,‖
That are but natural effects
Of Satan's malice, and his sects',
Those spider-saints, that hang by threads
Spun out o' th' entrails of their heads.
Sir, quoth the Voice, that may as true¶
And properly be said of you,
Whose talents may compare with either,**
Or both the other put together:
For all the independents do,

* When persons took the covenant, they attested their obligation to observe its principles by lifting up their hands to heaven: the covenant here means the solemn league and covenant framed by the Scots, and adopted by the English, ordered to be read in all churches, and every person was bound to give his consent, by holding up his hand at the reading of it. See Clarendon's History. South, in his fifth volume of Sermons, p. 74. says: "Their very posture of taking the covenant was an ominous mark of its intent, and their holding up their hands was a "sign that they were ready to strike." See line 485 of this canto. The solemn league and covenant has by many been compared to the holy league entered into by a large party in France, in the reigns of Charles IX., Henry III., and Henry IV. See this parallel carried on by Dugdale, in his State of the Troubles in England, p. 600.

† Ralpho, the supposed sprite, allows that they, the devil and the Independents, had engaged in the covenant; but he insists that the violation of it was not at all prejudicial to the cause they had undertaken, and for which it was framed.

‡ A peccadillo was a stiff piece worn round the neck and shoulders, to pin the ruff or band to. Ludicrously it means the pillory.

§ In some editions we read *held* up.

‖ The scandalous reflections on the saints, such as your charging the covenant with perjury, and making the covenanter no better than a rogue at the bar.

¶ Hudibras having been hard upon Satan, and the Independents, the voice undertakes the defence of each, but first of the Independents.

** That is, either with the Independents or with the devil

Is only what you forc'd them to;
You, who are not content alone
With tricks to put the devil down,
But must have armies rais'd to back
The gospel-work you undertake;
As if artillery and edge-tools,
Were th' only engines to save souls:
While he, poor devil, has no pow'r*
By force, to run down and devour;
Has ne'er a classis, cannot sentence
To stools, or poundage of repentance;†
Is ty'd up only to design,
T' entice, and tempt, and undermine:
In which you all his arts outdo,
And prove yourselves his betters too,
Hence 'tis possessions do less evil
Than mere temptations of the devil,‡
Which, all the horrid'st actions done,
Are charg'd in courts of law upon;§
Because, unless they help the elf,‖
He can do little of himself;
And, therefore, where he's best possest
Acts, most against his interest;
Surprises none but those who 've priests
To turn him out, and exorcists,
Supply'd with spiritual provision,
And magazines of ammunition;
With crosses, relics, crucifixes,
Beads, pictures, rosaries, and pixes;
The tools of working our salvation
By mere mechanic operation:
With holy water, like a sluice,
To overflow all avenues:
But those who're utterly unarm'd,

* *He*, that is, the Independent, has no power, having no classis, or spiritual jurisdiction.

† The poor devil, says Ralpho, cannot thus distress us by open and authorized vexations.

‡ He argues that men who are influenced by the devil, and co-operate with him, commit greater wickedness than he is able to perpetrate by his own agency. We seldom hear, therefore, of his taking an entire possession. The persons who complain most of his doing so, are those who are well furnished with the means of exorcising and ejecting him, such as relics, crucifixes, beads, pictures, rosaries, &c.

§ Not having the fear of God before their eyes, but led by the instigation of the devil, is the form of indictment for felony, murder, or such atrocious crimes.

‖ In some editions we read *you* help.

T' oppose his entrance, if he storm'd,
He never offers to surprise,
Altho' his falsest enemies ;*
But is content to be their drudge,
And on their errands glad to trudge:
For where are all your forfeitures
Intrusted in safe hands, but ours?
Who are but jailors of the holes
And dungeons where you clap up souls ;†
Like underkeepers, turn the keys,
T' your mittimus anathemas,
And never boggle to restore
The members you deliver o'er
Upon demand, with fairer justice,
Than all your covenanting trustees ;‡
Unless, to punish them the worse,
You put them in the secular powers,
And pass their souls, as some demise
The same estate in mortgage twice:
When to a legal ultlegation
You turn your excommunication,§
And, for a groat unpaid that's due,
Distrain on soul and body too.‖
Thought he, 'tis no mean part of civil
State-prudence to cajole the devil,
And not to handle him too rough,
When he has us in his cloven hoof.
'Tis true, quoth he, that intercourse
Has pass'd between your friends and ours,
That, as you trust us, in our way,
To raise your members, and to lay,¶
We send you others of our own,

* The enthusiasm of the Independents was something new in its kind, not much allied to superstition.

† Keep those in hell whom you are pleased to send thither by excommunication, your mittimus, or anathema: as jailers and turnkeys confine their prisoners.

‡ More honestly than the Presbyterians surrendered the estates which they held in trust for one another; these trustees were generally covenanters. See Part i. c. i. v. 76, and P. iii. c. ii. v 55.

§ You call down the vengeance of the civil magistrate upon them, and in this second instance pass over, that is, take no notice of their souls: the ecclesiastical courts can excommunicate, and then they apply to the civil court for an outlawry. *Utlegation*, that is, outlawry.

‖ Seize the party by a writ de excommunicato capiendo.

¶ *Your friends and ours*, that is, you devils and us fanatics: that as you trust us in our way, to raise you devils when we want you, and to lay you again when we have done with you.

Denounc'd to hang themselves or drown,*
Or, frighted with our oratory,
To leap down headlong many a story;
Have us'd all means to propagate
Your mighty interests of state,
Laid out our sp'ritual gifts to further
Your great designs of rage and murther:
For if the saints are nam'd from blood†
We onl' have made that title good;‡
And, if it were but in our power,
We should not scruple to do more,
And not be half a soul behind
Of all dissenters of mankind.
Right, quoth the Voice, and, as I scorn
To be ungrateful, in return
Of all those kind good offices,
I'll free you out of this distress,
And set you down in safety, where
It is no time to tell you here.
The cock crows, and the morn draws on,
When 'tis decreed I must be gone;
And if I leave you here till day,
You'll find it hard to get away.
With that the Spirit grop'd about
To find th' enchanted hero out,
And try'd with haste to lift him up,
But found his forlorn hope, his crup,§
Unserviceable with kicks, and blows,
Receiv'd from harden'd-hearted foes.
He thought to drag him by the heels,
Like Gresham-carts, with legs for wheels;‖
But fear, that soonest cures those sores,
In danger of relapse to worse,

* It is probable that the Presbyterian doctrine of reprobation had driven some persons to suicide. So did Alderman Hoyle, a member of the house. See Birkenhead's Paul's Churchyard.

† Sanctus, from sanguis, blood.

‡ i. e. we fanatics of this island only have merited that title by spilling much blood.

§ His back is called his forlorn hope, because that was generally exposed to danger, to save the rest of his body: a reflection on his courage.

‖ Mr. Butler does not forget the Royal Society. March 4, 1662, a scheme of a cart with legs that moved, instead of wheels, was brought before the Royal Society, and referred to the consideration of Mr. Hooke. The inventor was Mr. Potter. Mr. Hooke was ordered to draw up a full description of this cart, which, together with the animadversions upon it, was to be entered in the books of the Society.

Came in t' assist him with its aid,
And up his sinking vessel weigh'd.
No sooner was he fit to trudge,
But both made ready to dislodge ;
The Spirit hors'd him like a sack,
Upon the vehicle his back,
And bore him headlong into th' hall,
With some few rubs against the wall ;
Where, finding out the postern lock'd,
And th' avenues so strongly block'd,
H' attack'd the window, storm'd the glass,
And in a moment gain'd the pass ;
Thro which he dragg'd the worsted soldier's
Four-quarters out by th' head and shoulders,
And cautiously began to scout
To find their fellow-cattle out:
Nor was it half a minute's quest,
Ere he retriev'd the champion's beast,
Ty'd to a pale, instead of rack,
But ne'er a saddle on his back,
Nor pistols at the saddle bow,
Convey'd away, the Lord knows how.
He thought it was no time to stay,
And let the night too steal away ;
But in a trice, advanc'd the Knight
Upon the bare ridge, bolt upright,
And, groping out for Ralpho's jade,
He found the saddle too was stray'd,
And in the place a lump of soap,
On which he speedily leap'd up:
And, turning to the gate the rein,
He kick'd and cudgell'd on amain ;
While Hudibras, with equal haste,
On both sides laid about as fast,
And spurr'd as jockies use, to break,
Or padders to secure a neck :*
Where let us leave 'em for a time,
And to their churches turn our rhyme ;
To hold forth their declining state,
Which now come near an even rate.†

* Jockies endanger their necks by spurring their horses, and galloping very fast; but highwaymen, or padders, so called from the Saxon paap, highway, endeavor to save their necks by the same exertions.

† The time now approached when the Presbyterians and Independents were to fall into equal disgrace, and resemble the woleful condition of the knight and squire.

The two last conversations have much unfolded the views of the confederate sects, and prepare the way for the business of the subsequent canto. Their differences will there be agitated by characters of higher consequence: and their mutual reproaches will again enable the poet to expose the knavery and hypocrisy of each. This was the principal intent of the work. The fable was considered by him only as the vehicle of his satire. And perhaps when he published the First Part, he had no more determined what was to follow in the second, than Tristam Shandy had on a like occasion. The fable itself, the bare outlines of which I conceive to be borrowed, mutatis mutandis, from Cervantes, seems here to be brought to a period. The next canto has the form of an episode. The last consists chiefly of two dialogues and two letters. Neither knight nor squire have any further adventures.

PART III. CANTO II.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Saints engage in fierce contests
About their carnal interests,
To share their sacrilegious preys
According to their rates of grace:
Their various frenzies to reform,
When Cromwell left them in a storm;
Till, in th' effige of Rumps, the rabble
Burn all their grandees of the cabal.

HUDIBRAS.

CANTO II.*

The learned write, an insect breese
Is but a mongrel prince of bees,†
That falls before a storm on cows,
And stings the founders of his house;

* The different complexion of this canto from the others, and its unconnected state, may be accounted for by supposing it written on the spur of the occasion, and with a politic view to recommend the author to his friends at court, by a new and fierce attack on the opposite faction, at a time when the real or pretended patriots were daily gaining ground, and the secret views of Charles II. were more and more suspected and dreaded. A short time before the third part of this poem was published, Shaftesbury had ceased to be a minister, and became a furious demagogue. But the canto describes the spirit of parties not long before the Restoration. One object of satire here is to refute and ridicule the plea of the Presbyterians after the Reformation, of having been the principal instruments in bringing back the king. Of this they made a great merit in the reign of Charles II., and therefore Butler examines it v. 782, et seq.—v. 1023, et seq.—v. 1185-1189, et. seq.

The discourses and disputations in this, and the following canto, are long, and fatigue the attention of many readers. If it had not been taking too great a liberty with an author who published his own works, I should certainly have placed this canto last, as it is totally unconnected with the story of the poem, and relates to a long time after the actions of the other cantos.

† What the learned, namely, Varro, Virgil, &c., write concerning bees being produced from the putrid bodies of cattle, is here applied by our author to the breese, or gad-bee, which is said by the learned Pliny, in his Natural History, xi. 16, to be apis *grandior* quæ cæteras fugat: hence it may fairly be styled a prince of bees, yet, but a *mongrel* prince, because not strictly and properly a bee. Varro in Gesner's edition de Re Rustica, iii. 16, says, primum apes nascuntur partim ex apibus, partim ex bubulo corpore putrefacto. Itaque Archelaus in Epigrammate, ait, eas esse *βοὸς φθιμένης πεποτήμενα τέκνα*. Idem *ἵππων μὲν σφῆκες γενεὰ, μόσχων δὲ μέλισσαι*. The last line, with some variation, is in the Theriaca of Nicander. Columella ix. 14, says, the notion of generating bees from a heifer is as old as Democritus, and continued by Mago. Both Philetas and Callimachus called bees *βουγενεῖς*. See Hesych. Virgil, in his fourth Georgic, l. 281, says:

From whose corrupted flesh that breed
Of vermin did at first proceed.*
So, ere the storm of war broke out,
Religion spawn'd a various rout†
Of petulant capricious sects,
The maggots of corrupted texts,‡
That first run all religion down,
And after ev'ry swarm its own:
For as the Persian Magi once
Upon their mothers got their sons,

Sed si quem proles subito defecerit omnis.
Nec, genus unde novæ stirpis revocetur, habebit;
Tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magistri
Pandere, quoque modo cæsis jam sæpe juvencis
Insincerus apes tulerit cruor.

For the effect the Oestron has on cattle, see Virg. Georg. iii 146, et seq. "On the backs of cows," says Mr. Derham, "in the "summer months, there are maggots generated, which in Essex "we call weovils; which are first only small knots in the skin, "and, I suppose, no other than eggs laid there by some insect. "By degrees these knots grow bigger, and contain in them a "maggot, which may be squeezed out at a hole they have al-"ways open." Mr. Derham could never discover what animal they turn to. I doubt not but it is to this gad-fly or breese; and that their stinging the cows is not only to suck their blood, but to perforate the skin for the sake of laying their eggs within it.

* They may proceed from the flesh of cows in the manner above mentioned, that is, as from the *place* in which they are bred, but not from the *matter* out of which they are generated. The note on this passage, in the old edition, together with many others, convince me that the annotations on the third part of Hudibras could not be written by Butler.

† No less than 180 errors and heresies were propagated in the city of London, as Mr. Case told the parliament in his thanksgiving sermon for the taking of Chester.

‡ The Independents were charged with altering a text of Scripture, (Acts vi. 3,) in order to authorize them to appoint their own ministers. "Therefore, brethren, look ye out among "you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and "wisdom, whom *we* may appoint over this business." Mr. Field is said to have printed *ye* instead of *we* in several editions, and particularly in his beautiful folio edition of 1659, and the octavo of 1661. Dr. Grey says, he had heard that the first printer of this forgery received £1500 for it. This mistake the Doctor was led into by Dr. Wotton, but he very handsomely corrects it in his Supplement. The erratum of the press, for such it seems to have been, being a mistake only of a single letter, was observed first in that printed at Cambridge by Buck and Daniel, 1638, folio, so that it is falsely said by several writers, that this forgery crept into the text in the time of the usurpation, and during the reign of Independency. See Lewis's History of the English Translations of the Bible, p. 340, and J. Berriman's Critical Dissertation on 1 Tim. iii. 16. p. 52. But corrupted texts allude rather to false interpretations than to false reading

That were incapable t' enjoy
That empire any other way ;*
So presbyter begot the other†
Upon the good old cause, his mother
That bore them like the devil's dam,‡
Whose son and husband are the same ;
And yet no nat'ral tie of blood,
Nor int'rest for the common good,
Could, when their profits interfer'd,
Get quarter for each other's beard :§
For when they thriv'd they never fadg'd,‖

* "It was from this time, viz. about 521 years before Christ, "that they first had the name of Magians, which signifying the "crop-eared, it was then given unto them by way of nickname "and contempt, because of the impostor (Smerdis) who was then "cropped: for Mige-Gush signified, in the language of the country "then in use, one that had his ears cropped." Prideaux' Connection. From hence, perhaps, might come the proverb, "Who "made you a conjurer and did not crop your ears." Catullus says:

Nam magus ex matre et gnato gignatur oportet,
Si vera est Persarum impia religio. lxxxvii. 3.

Ovid says:

Gentes esse feruntur
In quibus et nato genitrix, et nata parenti
Jungitur, et pietas geminato creseit amore.
Met. x. 332.

Πέρσαι δὲ, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ σοφίαν ἀσκεῖν δοκοῦντες οἱ μάγοι, γαμοῦσι τὰς μητέρας.
Sext. Emp. Pyrrhon. Hypotypos. lib. iii. c. 24.

The poet cannot mean the *Persian empire*, which was only in the hands of the Magi for a few months; but he must intend the office of Archimagus, or the presidency of the Magi, which he was best entitled to who was in this manner begotten. Zoroaster, the first institutor of the sect, allowed of incestuous marriages: he maintained the doctrine of a good and bad principle; the former was worshipped under the emblem of fire, which they kept constantly burning.

† The Presbyterians first broke down the pale of order and discipline, and so made way for the Independents and every other sect.

‡ This is not the first time we have heard of the devil's mother. In Wolfii Memorabilia, is a quotation from Erasmus. "Si tu es diabolus, ego sum mater illius." And in the Agamemnon of Æschylus, Cassandra, after loading Clytemnestra with every opprobrious name she can think of, calls her *ᾅδου μητέρα*. The translator of Hudibras into French, remarks in a note, that this passage alludes to some lines in the second book of Milton's Paradise Lost, in the description of Sin and Death.

§ When the Presbyterians prevailed, Calamy, being asked what he would do with the Anabaptists, Antinomians, and others, replied, that he would not meddle with their consciences, but only with their bodies and estates.

‖ That is, never agreed; from the Teutonic, fugen. See Skinner. The same word is used v. 256.

But only by the ears engag'd;
Like dogs that snarl about a bone,
And play together when they've none;
As by their truest characters,
Their constant actions, plainly appears.
Rebellion now began, for lack
Of zeal and plunder, to grow slack;
The cause and covenant to lessen,
And providence to b' out of season:
For now there was no more to purchase
O th' king's revenue, and the churches,
But all divided, shar'd, and gone,
That us'd to urge the brethren on;
Which forc'd the stubborn'st for the cause
To cross the cudgels to the laws,*
That what by breaking them they'ad gain'd
By their support might be maintain'd;
Like thieves, that in a hemp-plot lie,
Secur'd against the hue-and-cry.†
For presbyter and independent
Were now turn'd plaintiff and defendant,
Laid out their apostolic functions
On carnal orders and injunctions;
And all their precious gifts and graces
On outlawries and scire facias;
At Michael's term had many a trial,
Worse than the dragon and St. Michael,
Where thousands fell, in shape of fees,
Into the bottomless abyss.
For when, like brethren, and like friends,
They came to share their dividends,‡
And ev'ry partner to possess
His church and state joint-purchases,
In which the ablest saint, and best,

* Cudgels across one another denote a challenge: to cross the cudgels to the laws, is to offer to fight in defence of them.

† It may mean a plat of growing hemp, which being a thick cover, a rogue may lie concealed therein, secure from all discovery of hue-and-cry: "Thus," says Butler in his Remains, vol. ii. p. 384, "he shelters himself under the cover of the law, "like a thief in a hemp-plat, and makes that secure him which "was intended for his destruction."

‡ About the year 1649, when the estates of the King and Church were sold, great arrears were due to the army: for the discharge of which some of the lands were allotted, and whole regiments joined together in the manner of a corporation. The distribution afterwards was productive of many lawsuits, the person whose name was put in trust often claiming the whole, or a larger share than he was entitled to.

Was nam'd in trust by all the rest
To pay their money, and instead
Of ev'ry brother, pass the deed;
He strait converted all his gifts
To pious frauds and holy shifts,
And settled all the other shares*
Upon his outward man and 's heirs;
Held all they claim'd as forfeit lands
Deliver'd up into his hands,
And pass'd upon his conscience
By pre-entail of Providence;
Impeach'd the rest for reprobates,
That had no titles to estates,
But by their spiritual attaints
Degraded from the right of saints
This b'ing reveal'd, they now begun
With law and conscience to fall on,
And laid about as hot and brain-sick
As th' utter barrister of Swanswick:†
Engag'd with money bags, as bold
As men with sand-bags did of old,‡

* Perhaps a better reading would be, as in some editions, *others'* shares.

† William Prynne, before mentioned, born at Swanswick, in Somersetshire, and barrister of Lincoln's Inn. The poet calls him hot and brainsick, because he was a restless and turbulent man. Whitelock calls him the busy Mr. Prynne, which title he gives him on occasion of his joining with one Walker in prosecuting Colonel Fiennes for the surrender of Bristol. Walker had been present at the siege, and had lost a good fortune by the surrender: but Prynne (he tells us) was no otherwise concerned than out of the pragmaticalness of his temper. There was an especial reason for his being called the *utter* barrister, for when he was censured by the court of Star-chamber, he was ordered (besides other punishments) to be discarded; and afterwards he was voted again by the house of commons to be restored to his place, and practice as an *utter* barrister; a term which signifies a pleader within the bar, but who is not king's counsel or sergeant.

‡ Bishop Warburton says: "When the combat was demanded in a legal way by knights and gentlemen, it was fought "with sword and lance: and when by yeomen, with sand-bags "fastened to the end of a truncheon:" see Shakspeare, the second part of Henry the VI. "Pugiles sacculis non veritate "pugilantes," made a part of the procession, when Gallienus celebrated the decennalia of his accession to the empire. (Treb. Pollio in Gallien. p. 178, ed. Paris, 1620.) Casaubon's note is, "Qui incruento pugilatu volebant dimicare, saccis non cœstibus "manus muniebant. Aiunt autem hi sacci vel tomento facti, "vel alia re pleni, quæ gravem ictum non redderent: puta, ficorûm granis, vel farina, vel furfuribus: interdum et arenâ "sacculos implebant." Chrysostomus homiliâ 20 in Epistol. ad Hebræos, *οὐκ ὁρᾷς τοὺς ἀθλήτας πῶς θυλάκους ἄμμου πλήσαντες*

That brought the lawyers in more fees
Than all unsanctify'd trustees ;*
Till he who had no more to show
I' th' case, received the overthrow ;
Or, both sides having had the worst,
They parted as they met at first.
Poor presbyter was now reduc'd,
Secluded, and cashier'd, and chous'd !†
Turn'd out, and excommunicate
From all affairs of church and state,
Reform'd t' a reformado saint,‡
And glad to turn itinerant,
To stroll and teach from town to town,
And those he had taught up, teach down,§
And make those uses serve again‖
Against the new-enlighten'd men,¶
As fit as when at first they were
Reveal'd against the cavalier ;
Damn anabaptist and fanatic,
As pat as popish and prelatic ;|
And with as little variation,
To serve for any sect i' th' nation,
The good old cause, which some believe

οὕτω γυμνάζονται. See the same thought repeated in Butler's Genuine Remains, vol. i. pp. 83 and 379, and vol. ii. 316. Sandbags in more modern history were really dangerous weapons ; they became instruments of the executioner. C'est une invention des Italiens pour tuer un homme sans repandre de sang, de le frapper rudement sur le dos avec des sachets remplis de sable. Les meurtrissures en sont incurables : la gangrene s'y met ; et la mort acheve le meurtre. The Spaniards are said to have employed this mode of revenge to destroy Boccalini. (Melanges par Vigneul Marville, vol. i. p. 11.)

* The lawyers got more fees from the Presbyterians, or saints, who in general were trustees for the sequestered lands, than from all other trustees, who were unsanctified. See v. 59, 60.

† When Oliver Cromwell, with the army and the Independents, had gotten the upper hand, they deprived the Presbyterians of all power and authority ; and before the king was brought to his trial, the Presbyterian members were excluded from the house.

‡ That is, to a volunteer without office, pay, or commission.

§ Poor presbyter, or the Presbyterians were glad to teach down the Independents, whom as brethren and friends (v. 55) they had indiscriminately taught up ; the unhinging doctrines of the Presbyterians having, in the long-run, hoisted up the Independents in direct opposition to themselves.

‖ The sermons of those times were divided into doctrine and use : and in the margin of them is often printed *use* the first, *use* the second, &c.

¶ That is, against the Independents.

To be the dev'l that tempted Eve
With knowledge, and does still invite
The world to mischief with new light,
Had store of money in her purse,
When he took her for better or worse,
But now was grown deform'd and poor,
And fit to be turn'd out of door.
The independents, whose first station
Was in the rear of reformation,
A mongrel kind of church-dragoons,*
That serv'd for horse and foot at once,
And in the saddle of one steed
The Saracen and Christian rid;†
Were free of ev'ry spiritual order,
To preach, and fight, and pray, and murder,‡
No sooner got the start, to lurch,§
Both disciplines of war and church,
And providence enough to run
The chief commanders of them down,
But carry'd on the war against
The common enemy o' th' saints,
And in a while prevail'd so far,
To win of them the game of war,
And be at liberty once more
T' attack themselves as they'ad before.

---

* Many of the Independent officers, such as Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, &c., used to pray and preach publicly, and many hours together. The sermon printed under the name of Oliver Cromwell is well known to be a forgery. See Granger, Art. Oliver Cromwell.

† Mr. Walker, in his History of Independency, says, "The Independents were a composition of Jew, Christian, and Turk."

‡ *To preach*, has a reference to the Dominicans; to *fight*, to the knights of Malta; to *pray*, to the fathers of the Oratory; to *murther*, to the Jesuits: of the latter, Oldham, Sat. i., speaks as

In each profounder art of killing bred:

and in Sat. iii.,

Slight of murder of the subtlest shape.

But the Independents assumed to themselves the privilege of every order: they preached, they fought, they prayed, they murdered. Sir Roger L'Estrange says, in the reflection on one of his fables, that the Independents did not take one step in the whole track of their iniquity, without *seeking* the *Lord* first, and going up to inquire of the Lord first, according to the cant of those days. For further account of the Independents, see Walker's History: the first part of which was published 1648, the second in 1649, and the third written in the Tower, where he was sent by Cromwell for writing it, 1651.

§ That is, to swallow up, to obtain fraudulently See Skinner and Junius.

For now there was no foe in arms
T' unite their factions with alarms,
But all reduc'd and overcome,
Except their worst, themselves at home,
Who'ad compass'd all th' pray'd, and swore
And fought, and preach'd, and plunder'd for,
Subdu'd the nation, church, and state,
And all things but their laws and hate ;*
But when they came to treat and transact,
And share the spoil of all they'ad ransackt,
To botch up what they'ad torn and rent,
Religion and the government,
They meet no sooner, but prepar'd,
To pull down all the war had spar'd ;
Agreed in nothing, but t' abolish,
Subvert, extirpate, and demolish :
For knaves and fools b'ing near of kin,
As Dutch boors are t' a sooterkin,†
Both parties join'd to do their best
To damn the public interest,
And herded only in consults,‡
To put by one another's bolts ;
T' outcant the Babylonian labourers,
At all their dialects of jabberers,
And tug at both ends of the saw,
To tear down government and law.
For as two cheats, that play one game,
Are both defeated of their aim ;§
So those who play a game of state,‖
And only cavil in debate,
Altho' there's nothing lost nor won,
The public bus'ness is undone,

---

* That is, the laws of the land, and hatred of the people.

† A reflection upon the Dutch women, for their use of hand-stoves, which they frequently put under their petticoats, and from whence they are said to produce sooterkins with their children. Mr. James Howel, in his letters, calls it a Zucchie, and says, "it is likest a bat of any creature." But Cleveland, p. 103, says, "not unlike to a rat."

‡ That is, both parties were intimately united together.

§ For as when two cheats, equally masters of the very same tricks, are both by that circumstance defeated of their aim, namely, to impose upon each other, so those well-matched tricksters, who play with state affairs, and by only cavilling at one another's schemes, are ever counteracting each other.

‖ This and the five following lines are truly descriptive of modern politicians, who use many words and little matter ; whose excellence is rated by the number of hours they continue speaking, and cavilling in debate.

Which still the longer 'tis in doing,
Becomes the surer way to ruin.
This when the royalists perceiv'd,*
Who to their faith as firmly cleav'd,
And own'd the right they had paid down
So dearly for, the church and crown,
Th' united constanter, and sided
The more, the more their foes divided
For tho' outnumber'd, overthrown,
And by the fate of war run down,
Their duty never was defeated,
Nor from their oaths and faith retreated;
For loyalty is still the same,
Whether it win or lose the game;
True as the dial to the sun,
Altho' it be not shin'd upon.†
But when these bretheren in evil,‡
Their adversaries, and the devil,
Began once more to shew them play,
And hopes, at least, to have a day,
They rally'd in parade of woods,
And unfrequented solitudes;
Conven'd at midnight in outhouses,
T' appoint new-rising rendezvouses,
And, with a pertinacy unmatch'd,
For new recruits of danger watch'd.§
No sooner was one blow diverted,
But up another party started,
And as if Nature too, in haste,
To furnish our supplies as fast,
Before her time had turn'd destruction,
T' a new and numerous production;‖
No sooner those were overcome,
But up rose others in their room,

* A fine encomium on the royalists, their prudence, and suffering fidelity.

† As the dial is invariable, and always open to the sun whenever its rays can show the time of day, though the weather is often cloudy, and obscures its lustre: so true loyalty is always ready to serve its king and country, though it often suffers great afflictions and distresses.

‡ The poet, to serve his metre, lengthens words as well as contracts them; thus lightening, oppugne, sarcasmous, affairec, bungleing, sprinkleing, benigne.

§ Recruits, that is, returns.

‖ The succession of loyalists was so quick, that they seemed to be perishing, and others supplying their places, before the periods usual in nature; all which is expressed with an allusion to univocal generation.

That, like the christian faith, increas'd,
The more, the more they were suppress'd
Whom neither chains, nor transportation,
Proscription, sale or confiscation,
Nor all the desperate events
Of former try'd experiments,
Nor wounds, could terrify, nor mangling,
To leave off loyalty and dangling,
Nor death, with all his bones, affright
From vent'ring to maintain the right,
From staking life and fortune down
'Gainst all together, for the crown :*
But kept the title of their cause
From forfeiture, like claims in laws;
And prov'd no prosp'rous usurpation
Can ever settle on the nation;
Until, in spite of force and treason,
They put their loy'lty in possession;
And, by their constancy and faith,
Destroy'd the mighty men of Gath.
Toss'd in a furious hurricane,
Did Oliver give up his reign,†
And was believ'd, as well by saints
As moral men and miscreants,‡

---

* That is, all of them together, namely, the several factions, their adversaries, and the devil. See v. 178.

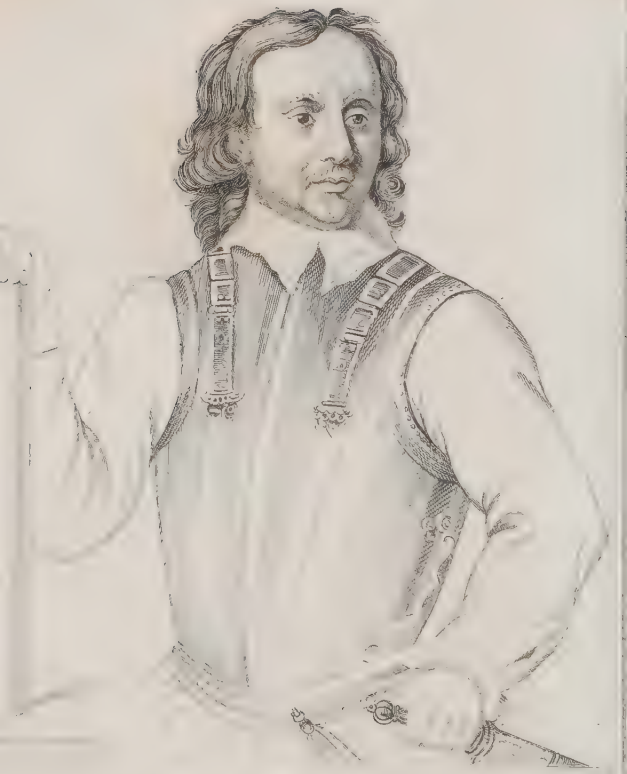
† The Monday before the death of Oliver, August 30th, 1658, was the most windy day that had happened for twenty years; Dennis Bond, a member of the long parliament, and one of the king's judges, died on this day; wherefore, when Oliver likewise went away in a storm the Friday following, it was said the devil came in the first wind to fetch him, but finding him not quite ready, he took Bond for his appearance. Dr. Morton, in his book of Fevers, says, that Oliver died of an ague, or intermittent fever; and intimates that his life might have been saved, had the virtues of the bark been sufficiently known; the distemper was then uncommonly epidemical and fatal: Morton's father died of it. As there was also a high wind the day Oliver died, both the poets and Lord Clarendon may be right; though the note on A. Wood's Life insinuates, that the noble historian mistook the date of the wind. Wood's Life, p. 115. Waller says:

In storms as loud as his immortal fame;

and Godolphin:

In storms as loud as was his crying sin.

‡ Some editions read *mortal*, but not with so much sense or wit. The Independents called themselves the saints; the cavaliers, and the church of England, they distinguished into two sorts; the immoral and wicked, they called miscreants; those that were of sober and of good conversation, they called moral



To founder in the Stygian ferry,
Until he was retriev'd by Sterry,* 220
Who, in a false erroneous dream,†

---

men; yet, because these last did not maintain the doctrine of absolute predestination and justification by faith only, but insisted upon the necessity of good works, they accounted them no better than moral heathens. By this opposition in the terms betwixt *moral men* and *saints*, the poet seems to insinuate, that the pretended saints were men of no morals.

* It was thought by the king's party, that Oliver Cromwell was gone to the devil; but Sterry, one of Oliver's chaplains, assured the world of his assumption into heaven. Sterry preached the sermon at Oliver's funeral, and comforted the audience with the following information. "As sure as this is the Bible "(which he held up in his hand) the blessed spirit of Oliver "Cromwell is with Christ, at the right hand of the Father, and "if he be there, what may not his family expect from him? For "if he were so useful and helpful, and so much good influenced "from him to them when he was in a mortal state, how much "more influence will they have from him now in heaven: the "Father, Son, and Spirit, through him, bestowed gifts and graces "upon them." Bishop Burnet hath recorded more rant of this high-flown blasphemer, as I find him called by A. Wood, viz.—that praying for Richard Cromwell, he said, "Make him the "brightness of his father's glory, and the express image of his "person." Archbishop Tillotson heard him. The following extract is from the register of Caversham, in Berkshire, communicated to me by the very ingenious and learned Dr. Loveday, of that place, to whom I rejoice to acknowledge my obligations for his assistance in the course of this work. "Vaniah Vaux, the "daughter of Captain George and Elizabeth Vaux, was born upon "a Monday morning, between seven and eight o'clock, at Caus-"ham Lodge, being the 19th of May, 1656, and christened by Mr. "Peter Sterry, minister and chaplain to the Highness the Lord "Protector."

† Peter Sterry dreamed that Oliver was to be placed in heaven, which he foolishly imagined to be the true and real heaven above; but it happened to be the false carnal heaven at the end of Westminster-Hall, where his head was fixed after the Restoration. There were, at that time, two victualling-houses at the end of Westminster-hall, under the Exchequer, the one called Heaven, and the other Hell:* near to the former Oliver's head was fixed, January 30, 1660. Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, were drawn to Tyburn on three several sledges, and, being taken from their coffins, hanged at the several angles; afterwards their heads were cut off, and set on Westminster-Hall. The following is a transcript from a MS. diary of Mr. Edward Sainthill, a Spanish merchant of those times, and preserved by his descendants. "The 30th of January, being that day twelve "years from the death of the king, the odious carcasses of Oliver "Cromwell, Major-general Ireton, and Bradshaw, were drawn in "sledges to Tyburn, where they were hanged by the neck, from "morning till four in the afternoon. Cromwell in a green seare-"cloth, very fresh, embalmed; Ireton having been buried long,

* Those gentlemen who had been restrained in the court of wards, were led through Westminster-Hall, by a strong guard, to that place under the Exchequer, commonly called Hell, where they might eat and drink, at their own costs, what they pleased.

Mistook the New Jerusalem,
Profanely for th' apocryphal
False heav'n at the end o' th' hall;
Whither, it was decreed by fate,
His precious reliques to translate.
So Romulus was seen before

"hung like a dried rat, yet corrupted about the fundament. "Bradshaw, in his winding-sheet, the fingers of his right hand "and his nose perished, having wet the sheet through; the rest "very perfect, insomuch that I knew his face, when the hang-"man, after cutting his head off, held it up: of his toes, I had "five or six in my hand, which the prentices had cut off. Their "bodies were thrown into a hole under the gallows, in their "seare-cloth and sheet. Cromwell had eight cuts, Ireton four, "being seare-cloths, and their heads were set up on the south-"end of Westminster-Hall." In a marginal note is a drawing of Tyburn (by the same hand) with the bodies hanging, and the grave underneath. Cromwell is represented like a mummy swathed up, with no visible legs or feet. To this memorandum is added:

"Ireton, died the 26th of November, 1651.
"Cromwell, the 3d of September, 1658.
"Bradshaw, the 31st of October, 1659."

In the same diary are the following articles:—"January 8th, "1661, Sir A. Haslerigg, that cholerick rebel, died in the Tower. "The 17th, Venner and his accomplice hanged—he and another "in Coleman street; the other 17 in other places of the city. "Sept. 3d, 1662, Cromwell's glorious, and yet fatal day, died that "long speaker of the long parliament, William Lenthall, very "penitently." Yet, according to other accounts, the body of Oliver has been differently disposed of. Some say that it was sunk in the Thames; others, that it was buried in Naseby-field. But the most romantic story of all is, that his corpse was privately taken to Windsor, and put in king Charles's coffin; while the body of the king was buried in state for Oliver's, and, consequently, afterwards hanged at Tyburn, and the head exposed at Westminster-Hall. These idle reports might arise from the necessity there was of interring the Protector's body before the funeral rites were performed; for it appears to have been deposited in Westminster-Abbey, in the place now occupied by the tomb of the duke of Buckingham. The engraved plate on his coffin is still in being. Sir John Prestwick, in his Republica, tells us "that Cromwell's remains were privately interred in a small "paddock, near Holborn, on the spot where the obelisk in Red-"lion-square lately stood." The account of Oliver's sickness and death in Biog. Brit. ed. 2, vol. iv. p. 108, may be depended upon, being taken from Bates' Elenchus Motuum, who attended as his physician at the time. Dr. Morton says, anno 1658, Febris hæc, tam spuria quam simplex, præsertim mensibus autumnalibus ubique per totam Angliam grassabatur, quod etiam Willisius in puretologia sua testatus est. Olivarius Cromwellus, qui tum temporis rerum Brittannicarum potitus est, et pater meus reverendus, idemque medicus exercitatissimus, illo ipso anno, ineunte Septembri, cum hæc constitutio ad ακμην pervenisset, hac febre correpti, fatis cedebant. Hoc tempore fere tota hac insula nosocomii publici speciem præ se ferebat, et in nonnullis locis sani vix supererant, qui ad ministrandum valetudinariis sufficerent.

B' as orthodox a senator,*
From whose divine illumination
He stole the pagan revelation.
Next him his son, and heir apparent
Succeeded, tho' a lame vicegerent,†
Who first laid by the parliament;
The only crutch on which he leant,
And then sunk underneath the state,
That rode him above horseman's weight.‡
And now the saints began their reign,
For which they 'ad yearn'd so long in vain,§
And felt such bowel-hankerings,
To see an empire, all of kings,‖
Deliver'd from th' Egyptian awe
Of justice, government, and law,¶
And free t' erect what spiritual cantons
Should be reveal'd, or gospel Hans-Towns.**
To edify upon the ruins

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* Livy says, "Romulus, the first Roman king, being suddenly "missed, and the people in trouble for the loss of him, Julius "Proculus made a speech, wherein he told them that he saw Romulus that morning come down from heaven; that he gave "him certain things in charge to tell them, and that he saw him "mount up to heaven again." Proculus might have been as creditable and orthodox as Peter Sterry, though not one of the assembly of divines. But Dion. Halicarnas. a better antiquary, and more impartial than Livy, relates, xi. 56, that Romulus was murdered by his own discontented subjects. What the annotator to the third part has concerning Quirinus, he might have taken from Dionysius, but neither this author nor Livy say a word about making oath. Dionysius names the witness Julius, and says he was a country farmer: though our poet has exalted him to the rank of a senator. In succeeding times, when it became fashionable to deify the emperors and their wives, some one was actually bribed to swear, previously to the ceremony, that he had seen the departed person ascending into heaven. Hence, on the consecration coins, we find a person mounted on an eagle, or peacock, or drawn upwards in a chariot.

† Richard Cromwell, the eldest son of Oliver, succeeded him in the protectorship; but had neither capacity nor courage sufficient for the situation.

‡ See Part i. canto i. l. 925, where he rides the state; but here the state rides him.

§ Meaning the committee of safety. See Lord Clarendon, vol. iii. b. xvi. p. 544, and Baxter's Life, p. 74.

‖ They founded their hopes on Revelation i. 6, and v. 10.

¶ Some sectaries thought, that all law proceedings should be abolished, all law-books burnt, and that the law of the Lord Jesus should be received alone.

** At liberty to erect free states and communities, like the cantons of Switzerland, or the Hans-towns of Germany; or, in short, to establish any polity which their holy zeal might find agreeable.

Of John of Leyden's old out-goings,*
Who for a weather-cock hung up
Upon their mother-church's top,
Was made a type by Providence,
Of all their revelations since,
And now fulfill'd by his successors,
Who equally mistook their measures;
For when they came to shape the model,
Not one could fit another's noddle;
But found their light and gifts more wide
From fadging, than th' unsanctify'd,
While ev'ry individual brother
Strove hand to fist against another,
And still the maddest, and most crackt,
Were found the busiest to transact;†
For tho' most hands dispatch apace,
And made light work, the proverb says,
Yet many diff'rent intellects
Are found t' have contrary effects;
And many heads t' obstruct intrigues,
As slowest insects have most legs.
Some were for setting up a king,
But all the rest for no such thing,
Unless king Jesus:‡ others tamper'd
For Fleetwood, Desborough, and Lambert;§
Some for the rump, and some more crafty,
For agitators, and the safety;‖

* John Buckhold, or Bokelson, a tailor of Leyden, was ringleader of a furious tribe of Anabaptists, who made themselves masters of the city of Munster, where they proclaimed a community both of goods and women. This new Jerusalem, as they had named it, was retaken, after a long siege, by its bishop and sovereign count Waldeck; and John, with two of his associates, was suspended in an iron cage on the highest tower of the city. This happened about the year 1536.

† A very sensible observation, which has been justified too frequently in other instances.

‡ "The fifth monarchy men," as Bishop Burnet says, "seemed daily to expect the appearance of Christ." Mr. Carew, one of the king's judges, would not plead to his indictment when brought to trial, till he had entered a salvo for the jurisdiction of Jesus Christ: "saving to our Lord Jesus Christ his right to the "government of these kingdoms."

§ Fleetwood was son-in-law to Cromwell, having married Ireton's widow. He was made lord-deputy of Ireland, and lieutenant-general of the army. Desborough married one of Cromwell's sisters, and became a colonel, and general at sea. Lambert was the person who, as Ludlow tells us, was always kept in expectation by Cromwell of succeeding him, and was indeed the best qualified for it.

‖ Some were for restoring the remnant of the long parliament,

Some for the gospel, and massacres
Of spiritual affidavit-makers,*
That swore to any human regence
Oaths of suprem'cy and allegiance;
Yea, tho' the ablest swearing saint,
That vouch'd the bulls o' th' covenant:
Others for pulling down th' high places
Of synods and provincial classes,†
That us'd to make such hostile inroads
Upon the saints, like bloody Nimrods:
Some for fulfilling prophecies,‡
And th' extirpation of th' excise;
And some against th' Egyptian bondage
Of holidays, and paying poundage:§
Some for the cutting down of groves,‖

---

which, by deaths, exclusions, and expulsions, was reduced to a small number, perhaps forty or fifty, and therefore called the rump. After the king's party was subdued, and the parliament began to talk of disbanding the army, or sending it into Ireland, a military council was set up, consisting of the chief officers, like the lords, and a number of deputies from the inferior officers and common soldiers, like the commons, who were to meet and consult on the interests of the army. These were called agitators, and the chief management of affairs seemed to be for some time in their hands. When Lambert had broken the rump parliament in 1659, the officers of the army, joined by some of the members, agreed to form a committee of safety, as they called it, consisting of between twenty and thirty persons, who were to assume the government, and provide for the safety of the kingdom.

* Some were for abolishing all laws but what were expressed in the words of the gospel: for destroying all magistracy and government, and for extirpating those who should endeavor to uphold it; and of those Whitelock alleges, that he acted as a member of the committee of safety, because so many were for abolishing all order, that the nation was like to run into the utmost confusion. The agitators wished to destroy all records, and the courts of justice.

† They wished to see an end of the Presbyterian hierarchy.

‡ That is, perhaps, for taking arms against the pope.

§ On the 8th of June, 1647, an ordinance was published through out England and Wales to abolish festivals, and allow the sec ond Tuesday in every month to scholars, apprentices, and ser vants, for their recreation. The taxes imposed by the parlia ment were numerous and heavy: a pound rate was levied on all personal property. For *poundage*, see Clarendon, vol. i. fol. 206.

‖ That is, for destroying the ornaments of churches, which they supposed to be marks of idolatry and superstition. Mr. Gosling, in his Walk about Canterbury, p. 193, tells a story of one Richard Culmer, a minister of God's word, and M. A., who demolished a rich window of painted glass, and published an account of his exploit; yet without noticing the following occurrence: "While he was laying about him with great zeal and ardour, a townsman looking on, asked him what he was doing?

And rectifying bakers' loaves;
And some for finding out expedients
Against the slav'ry of obedience:
Some were for gospel-ministers,
And some for red-coat seculars,*
As men most fit t' hold forth the word,
And wield the one and th' other sword:†
Some were for carrying on the work
Against the pope, and some the Turk:
Some for engaging to suppress
The camisado of surplices,‡
That gifts and dispensations hinder'd,
And turn'd to th' outward man the inward;§
More proper for the cloudy night
Of popery than gospel-light:
Others were for abolishing
That tool of matrimony, a ring,‖
With which th' unsanctify'd bridegroom
Is marry'd only to a thumb,¶

"'I am doing the work of the Lord,' said he. 'Then,' replied "the other, 'if it please the Lord I will help you;' and threw a "stone with so good a will, that if the saint had not ducked, he "might have laid his own bones among the rubbish he was ma-"king. N. B. He was then mounted on a ladder sixty feet high." It is well known that groves were anciently made use of as places of worship. The rows of clustered pillars in our gothic cathedrals, branching out and meeting at top in long drawn arches, are supposed to have been suggested by the venerable groves of our ancestors.

* Some petitioned for the continuance and maintenance of a gospel ministry. Some thought that laymen, and even soldiers, might preach the word, as some of them did, particularly Cromwell and Ireton.

† The sword of the spirit, which is the word of God. Ephesians vi. 17.

‡ Some sectaries had a violent aversion to the surplice, which they called a rag of popery. *Camisado* or *camisade*, is an expedition by night, in which the soldiers sometimes wear their shirts over the rest of their clothes, that they may be distinguished by their comrades.

§ Transferred the purity which should remain in the heart, to the vestment on the back.

‖ Persons contracting matrimony were to publish their intentions in the next town, on three market days, and afterwards the contract was to be certified by a justice of the peace: no ring was used.

¶ The word *thumb* is used for the sake of rhyme, the ring being put by the bridegroom upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand. This is a very ancient custom, and not unknown to the Greeks and Romans. Many whimsical reasons are given for it. We are told by Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. lib. x. ch. 10, that from this finger there goes a most delicate nerve to the heart: but our ancestors were very fond of wearing

As wise as ringing of a pig,
That us'd to break up ground, and dig;
The bride to nothing but her "will,"*
That nulls the after-marriage still:
Some were for th' utter extirpation
Of linsey-woolsey in the nation;†
And some against all idolizing
The cross in shop-books, or baptizing:‡
Others to make all things recant

---

thumb-rings: abbots were generally buried with them, in token of their connection, or marriage, with the religious house over which they presided. [In early times the thumb was used as a seal, (see Du Cange,) as it is to this day in attestations; from thence the seal ring was worn upon the thumb, which affords perhaps the best reason for abbots being buried with them. But in the text it would seem that something more is meant than meets the ear; for Butler with his facility of versification would never have given such a rhyme for the rhyme's sake merely. The following extract from No. 614 of the Spectator seems to throw a glimmer on the passage: "Before I speak of widows, I "cannot but observe one thing, which I do not know how to ac- "count for; a widow is always more sought after than an old "maid of the same age. It is common enough among ordinary "people for a stale virgin to set up a shop in a place where she "is not known; where the *large thumb ring*, supposed to be giv- "en her by her husband, quickly recommends her to some "wealthy neighbor, who takes a liking to the jolly widow, that "would have overlooked the venerable spinster." Falstaff says:

["I could have crept into any alderman's *thumb-ring*."]

* Mr. Warburton thinks this an equivoque, alluding to the response which the bride makes in the marriage ceremony—"I will." Mr. Butler in his Genuine Remains, vol. i. p. 246, says:

The souls of women are so small,
That some believe th' have none at all;
Or, if they have, like cripples, still,
Th' ave but one faculty, the will.

† Were for judaizing. The Jewish law forbids the use of a garment made of linen and woollen. Lev. xix. 19.

‡ The Presbyterians thought it superstitious and popish to use the sign of the cross in baptism; or, even for tradesmen to make a cross in their books, as a sign of payment. Mr. Warburton thinks the lines may refer to a proposal which was made by some, for spunging all public debts; and perhaps, it is a sneer upon the Anabaptists, who called themselves liberi homines, and pretended they were made free by Christ, from payment of all taxes and debts; and some Presbyterians made this a pretence for not paying their private debts, lest they should give occasion to the making of crosses, and so be promoters of idolatry. Butler unites the most trivial with the most important objects of reformation proposed by the fanatic republicans of that time, and means, that as the original nonconformists objected to the sign of the cross in baptism, so now their successors carried their aversion to that once venerated form to such an extreme as to call it idolatrous, when only used to cross out paltry debts in a tradesman's ledger-book.

The christian or sirname of saint,*
And force all churches, streets, and towns,
The holy title to renounce;
Some 'gainst a third estate of souls,
And bringing down the price of coals;†
Some for abolishing black-pudding,
And eating nothing with the blood in;‡
To abrogate them roots and branches,§
While others were for eating haunches
Of warriors, and now and then,
The flesh of kings and mighty men;‖
And some for breaking of their bones
With rods of iron,¶ by secret ones;**
For thrashing mountains, and with spells
For hallowing carriers' packs and bells;††
Things that the legend never heard of,
But made the wicked sore afraid of.‡‡

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* Streets, parishes, churches, and even the apostles themselves, were unsainted for eight or ten years preceding the restoration. See the Spectator, No. 125.

† The first line may allude to the intermediate or middle state, in which some supposed the soul to continue from the time of its leaving the body to the resurrection; or else it may allude to the popish doctrine of purgatory. The former subject was warmly discussed about this time. The exorbitant price of coals was then loudly complained of. Sir Arthur Hazlerigg laid a tax of four shillings a chaldron upon Newcastle coals, when he was governor there. Many petitions were presented against the tax; and various schemes proposed for reducing the price of them. Shakspeare says:

> A pair of tribunes that have sack'd fair Rome
> To make coals cheap. Coriolanus, Act v. sc. 1.

‡ The judaizing sect.

§ This line seems unconnected with the preceding, and I am inclined to think it misplaced. Clarendon mentions a set of men, who were called root and branch men, in opposition to others who were of more moderate principles. *To abrogate*, that is, that they might utterly abrogate or renounce every thing that had blood, while others were for eating haunches, alluding to Revelation xix. 18. "That ye might eat the flesh of kings, "and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the "flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of "all men, both free and bond, both small and great."

‖ Expecting, perhaps, the completion of the text, Rev. xix. 18.

¶ Ridiculing the practice, so common in those days, of expressing every sentiment in terms of Scripture. He alludes perhaps to Psalm ii. 9; Isaiah xli. 15, and Revelation xix. 15.

** Thus in the 83d Psalm and 3d verse, "And taken counsel "against thy secret ones:" it is thus translated in their favorite copy of Geneva. See this expression used v. 681, 697, and 706 of this canto.

†† See Zechariah xiv. 20.

‡‡ Things which the Scriptures never intended, but which

The quacks of government,* who sate
At th' unregarded helm of state,
And understood this wild confusion
Of fatal madness and delusion,
Must, sooner than a prodigy,
Portend destruction to be nigh,
Consider'd timely how t' withdraw,
And save their wind-pipes from the law;
For one rencounter at the bar
Was worse than all they 'ad 'scap'd in war:
And therefore met in consultation
To cant and quack upon the nation;
Not for the sickly patient's sake,
Nor what to give, but what to take;
To feel the pulses of their fees,
More wise than fumbling arteries;
Prolong the snuff of life in pain,
And from the grave recover—gain.
'Mong these there was a politician,
With more heads than a beast in vision,†
And more intrigues in every one
Than all the whores of Babylon;
So politic, as if one eye
Upon the other were a spy,‡
That to trepan the one to think

---

the wicked, that is the warriors, kings, and mighty men, were afraid of, lest they should break their bones and eat their flesh.

* These were Mr. Hollis, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Grimstone, Annesley, Manchester, Roberts, and others; who perceiving that Richard Cromwell was unable to conduct the government, and that the various schemers who daily started up would divide the party, and facilitate the restoration of the royal family, thought it prudent to take care of themselves, and secure their own interests with as much haste as possible.

† Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury. See Bishop Burnet's character of him in the history of his own times. In 1660, Ashley Cooper was named one of the twelve members of the house of commons to carry their invitation to the king; and it was in performing this service that he was overturned on the road, and received a dangerous wound between the ribs, which ulcerated many years after, and was opened when he was lord-chancellor; hence, and from an absurd defamation that he had the vanity to expect to be chosen king of Poland, he was called Tapsky; others, from his general conduct, nicknamed him Shiftesbury.

With more heads than a beast in vision. Than the beast with seven heads and ten horns, in the Revelation.

‡ Lord Shaftesbury had weak eyes, and squinted. He had other disorders, which are mentioned in the Musæ Anglicanæ, and in Butler's Remains, vol. ii. p. 369. "He is intimate with no "man, but his pimp and his surgeon." Character of an undeserving favorite.

The other blind, both strove to blink;
And in his dark pragmatic way,
As busy as a child at play.
He 'ad seen three governments run down,
And had a hand in ev'ry one;
Was for 'em, and against 'em all,
But barb'rous when they came to fall:
For by trepanning th' old to ruin,
He made his int'rest with the new one;
Play'd true and faithful, tho' against
His conscience, and was still advanc'd:
For by the witchcraft of rebellion
Transform'd t' a feeble state-camelion,†
By giving aim from side to side,
He never fail'd to save his tide,
But got the start of ev'ry state,
And at a change, ne'er came too late;
Could turn his word, and oath, and faith,
As many ways as in a lath;
By turning, wriggle, like a screw,
Int' highest trust and out for new
For when he 'ad happily incurr'd,
Instead of hemp, to be preferr'd,
And pass'd upon a government,‡
He play'd his trick, and out he went;
But being out, and out of hopes

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* Those of the king, the parliament, and the protector. First he was high sheriff of Dorsetshire, governor of Weymouth, and raised some forces for the king's service. Next he joined the parliament, took the covenant, and was made colonel of a regiment of horse. Afterwards he was a very busy person in setting up Cromwell to be lord protector; and then again was quite as active in deposing Richard, and restoring the rump. Bishop Burnet says of him, that he was not ashamed to reckon up the many turns he had made, and valued himself upon effecting them at the properest season, and in the best manner:

> For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
> Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit;
> Restless, unfix'd in principles and place,
> In power unpleas'd, impatient of disgrace:
> In friendship false, implacable in hate,
> Resolv'd to ruin, or to rule the state.
> Absalom and Achithophel.

† The camelion is said to assume the color of the nearest object. See a treatise with this title among the works of Buchanan, at the end of the first volume, printed in 1723, written to traduce Secretary Maitland, alias Lethington, a politician of similar talents.

‡ That is, passed himself upon the government.

To mount his ladder, more, of ropes,*
Would strive to raise himself upon
The public ruin, and his own;
So little did he understand
The desp'rate feats he took in hand,
For when he'ad got himself a name
For frauds and tricks he spoil'd his game;
Had forc'd his neck into a noose,†
To shew his play at fast and loose;
And, when he chanc'd t' escape, mistook,
For art and subtlety, his luck.
So right his judgment was cut fit,
And made a tally to his wit,
And both together most profound
At deeds of darkness under ground;
As th' earth is easiest undermin'd,
By vermin impotent and blind.‡
By all these arts, and many more,
He 'ad practis'd long and much before,
Our state-artificer foresaw
Which way the world began to draw:
For as old sinners have all points
O' th' compass in their bones and joints,
Can by their pangs and aches find
All turns and changes of the wind,
And better than by Napier's bones,§
Feel in their own the age of moons;
So guilty sinners, in a state,
Can by their crimes prognosticate,
And in their consciences feel pain
Some days before a show'r of rain
He therefore wisely cast about
All ways he could t' ensure his throat,
And hither came, t' observe and smoke
What courses other riskers took,

* It was in clandestine designs, such as house-breaking and the like, that rope ladders were chiefly used in our poet's time.

† Perhaps it would be better if for *had*, we read *and*, or *he*.

‡ The poet probably means earthworms, which are still more impotent and blind than moles.

§ Lord Napier was one of the first establishers of the Royal Society, a very considerable mathematician, inventor of logarithms, and of certain pieces of wood or ivory with numbers on them, with which he performed arithmetical and geometrical calculations, and these were called Napier's bones. See Lilly's History of his own Life and Times, p. 105, where he is called Lord Marchiston.

And to the utmost do his best
To save himself, and hang the rest.
To match this saint there was another,
As busy and perverse a brother,*
An haberdasher of small wares†
In politics and state affairs;
More Jew than rabbi Achithophel,‡
And better gifted to rebel;
For when h' had taught his tribe t' spouse
The cause, aloft upon one house,
He scorn'd to set his own in order,
But try'd another, and went further;
So suddenly addicted still
To 's only principle, his will,
That whatsoe'er it chanc'd to prove,
No force of argument could move,

* The old annotator applies this character to the famous John Lilbourn; and indeed it resembles him in many respects. But the time of the action in this canto immediately precedes the Restoration, 1660, and Lilbourn died August 28, 1657. The apparent anachronism may show that Butler did not desire to be understood of Lilbourn or Shaftesbury, exclusively of others; though doubtless the character of those two men furnished him with the principal traits in the two pictures. In his Remains, vol. ii. p. 272, are two speeches pretended to have been made in the rump parliament, 1659, one of them by a Presbyterian, the other by an Independent. They maintain the same sentiments with the following debate, but have no personal allusions to mark the particular characters of the two speakers. "The "reader," says Mr. Thye, "who has curiosity enough to com- "pare, will find a great similarity of argument in the two per- "formances; and that the grave, distinct reasoning in the serious "invective, serves very happily to illustrate the arch and satiri- "cal drollery of the poetical banter." Colonel John Lilbourn had been severely censured in the star-chamber, for dispersing seditious pamphlets; and on the same account was afterwards rewarded by the parliament, and preferred by Cromwell. But when Cromwell had usurped the sovereign power, Lilbourn forsook him, and writing and speaking vehemently he was arraigned of treason. He was a grand leveller, and strong opponent of all that was uppermost; a man of such an inveterate spirit of contradiction that it was commonly said of him, if the world were emptied of all but himself, John would be against Lilbourn, and Lilbourn against John. Though John was dead, his brother Robert was living, and figured conspicuously. But perhaps the poet might here mean some one more considerable than Lilbourn to oppose to Ashley Cooper.

† A smatterer in politics. Lilbourn had been bred a tradesman: Lord Clarendon says a bookbinder; Anthony Wood makes him a packer.

‡ Achithophel was one of David's counsellors. He joined the rebellious Absalom, and assisted him with very artful advice; but hanged himself when it was not implicitly followed. 2 Samuel, xvii. 23.

Nor law, nor cavalcade of Ho'born,*
Could render half a grain less stubborn;
For he at any time would hang,
For th' opportunity t' harangue;
And rather on a gibbet dangle,
Than miss his dear delight, to wrangle;
In which his parts were so accomplish'd,
That, right or wrong, he ne'er was non-plust:
But still his tongue ran on, the less
Of weight it bore, with greater ease;
And, with its everlasting clack,
Set all men's ears upon the rack:
No sooner could a hint appear,
But up he started to picqueer,†
And made the stoutest yield to mercy,
When he engag'd in controversy;
Not by the force of carnal reason,
But indefatigable teazing,
With vollies of eternal babble,
And clamour, more unanswerable:
For tho' his topics, frail and weak,
Cou'd ne'er amount above a freak,
He still maintain'd 'em, like his faults,
Against the desp'ratest assaults;
And back'd their feeble want of sense,
With greater heat and confidence:‡
As bones of Hectors, when they differ,
The more they 're cudgell'd, grow the stiffer.§
Yet when this profit moderated,‖
The fury of his heat abated;
For nothing but his interest
Could lay his devil of contest:
It was his choice, or chance, or curse,

* When criminals were executed at Tyburn, they were generally conveyed in carts, by the sheriff and his attendants on horseback, from Newgate, along Snow-hill, Holborn-hill, Holborn, High Holborn, Broad St. Giles's, Oxford-street, and Tyburn-road.

† In a conference with James II., held with Burnet on the subject of religion, James said "He had piqueered with Sheldon "and Morley, and found them nearer to popery than the young "divines:" it is a military term, and signifies to skirmish.

‡ When Lilbourn was arraigned for treason against Cromwell, he pleaded at his trial, that no treason could be committed against such a government, and what he had done was in defence of the liberties of his country.

§ A pun upon the word stiffer.

‖ When his interest swayed and governed him. *Moderated* is a verb active.

T' espouse the cause for better or worse,
And with his worldly goods and wit,
And soul and body worshipp'd it:*
But when he found the sullen trapes
Possess'd with th' devil, worms, and claps:
The Trojan mare, in foal with Greeks,
Not half so full of jadish tricks,
Tho' squeamish in her outward woman,
As loose and rampant as Doll Common;†
He still resolv'd to mend the matter,
T' adhere and cleave the obstinater;
And still the skittisher and looser
Her freaks appeared, to sit the closer:
For fools are stubborn in their way,
As coins are harden'd by th' allay:
And obstinacy's ne'er so stiff,
As when 'tis in a wrong belief.‡
These two, with others, being met,§
And close in consultation set,
After a discontented pause,
And not without sufficient cause,
The orator we mention'd late,
Less troubled with the pangs of state,
Than with his own impatience,
To give himself first audience,
After he had awhile look'd wise,
At last broke silence, and the ice.
Quoth he, There's nothing makes me doubt
Our last outgoings brought about,
More than to see the characters
Of real jealousies and fears
Not feign'd, as once, but sadly horrid,‖

---

* Alluding to the words in the office of matrimony: "With "my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee "endow."

† A prostitute in Ben Jonson's play called The Alchymist.

‡ The same sentiment is differently expressed in the Remains vol. i. p. 181:

For as implicit faith is far more stiff,
Than that which understands its own belief;
So those that think, and do but think, they know
Are far more obstinate than those that do:
And more averse, than if they 'd ne'er been taught
A wrong way, to a right one to be brought.

§ A cabal met at Whitehall, at the same time that General Monk dined with the city of London.

‖ Not feigned and pretended as formerly, in the beginning of the parliament, when they stirred up the people against the

Scor'd upon ev'ry member's forehead;
Who, 'cause the clouds are drawn together,
And threaten sudden change of weather,
Feel pangs and aches of state-turns,
And revolutions in their corns;
And, since our workings-out are crost,*
Throw up the cause before 'tis lost.
Was it to run away we meant,
Who, taking of the covenant,
The lamest cripples of the brothers
Took oaths to run before all others,†
But in their own sense, only swore,
To strive to run away before,
And now would prove, that words and oath
Engage us to renounce them both?
'Tis true the cause is in the lurch,
Between a right and mongrel-church;
The presbyter and independent,
That stickle which shall make an end on't
As 'twas made out to us the last
Expedient,—I mean Marg'ret's fast;‡
When Providence had been suborn'd,
What answer was to be return'd:§

king by forging letters, suborning witnesses, and making an outcry of strange plots being carried on, and horrible dangers being at hand. For instance, the people were incensed, as if the papists were about to fire their houses, and cut their throats while they were at church; as if troops of soldiers were kept under ground to do execution upon them; and sometimes as if the Thames were intended to be blown up with gunpowder, to drown or choke them. Bates's Elench. Motuum.

* Out-goings, and workings-out, were cant terms in frequent use with the sectaries, signifying perhaps their endeavors, and their works.

† These were the words used in the solemn league and covenant, "Our true and unfeigned purpose is, each one to go "before another in the example of a real reformation."

‡ The lectures and exercises delivered on days of public devotion, were called *expedients*. Besides twenty-five days of solemn fasting and humiliation on extraordinary occasions, there was a fast kept every month for about eight years together. The commons attended divine service in St. Margaret's church, Westminster. The reader will observe, that the orator does not say *Saint* Margaret's, but *Margaret's* fast. Some of the sectaries, instead of Saint Peter or Saint Paul, would in derision say, Sir Peter and Sir Paul. The parliament petitioned the king for fasts while he had power, and afterwards the appointing them themselves was an *expedient* they made use of to alarm and deceive the people, who, upon such an occasion, could not but conclude there was some more than ordinary impending danger, or some important business carrying on.

§ These sectaries pretended a great familiarity with heaven; and when any villany was to be transacted, they would seem in

Else why should tumults fright us now,
We have so many times gone thro',
And understand as well to tame
As when they serve our turns, t' inflame;
Have prov'd how inconsiderable
Are all engagements of the rabble,
Whose frenzies must be reconcil'd
With drums, and rattles, like a child,
But never prov'd so prosperous,
As when they were led on by us;
For all our scouring of religion
Began with tumults and sedition;
When hurricanes of fierce commotion
Became strong motives to devotion;
As carnal seamen, in a storm,
Turn pious converts, and reform,
When rusty weapons, with chalk'd edges,
Maintain'd our feeble privileges,
And brown-bills levy'd in the city,*

---

their prayers to propose their doubts and scruples to God Almighty, and after having debated the matter some time with him, they would turn their discourse, and bring forth an answer suitable to their designs, which the people were to look upon as suggested from heaven. Bates's Elench. Motuum. It was an observation in that time, that the first publishing of extraordinary news was from the pulpit; and from the preacher's text and discourse the hearers might judge, and commonly foresaw what was likely to be done next in the parliament or council of state. Lord Clarendon.

* Apprentices armed with occasional weapons. Ainsworth, in his Dictionary, translates sparum, a brown bill. Bishop Warburton says, to fight with rusty or poisoned weapons, (see Shakspeare's Hamlet,) was against the law of arms. So when the citizens used the former, they chalked the edges. Samuel Johnson, in the octavo edition of his Dictionary, says, "*Brown-bill* was the ancient weapon of the English foot," so called, perhaps, because sanguined to prevent the rust: thus sportsmen often serve their fowling-pieces to prevent too much glitter, as well as the rust. Black-bill seems to be the opposite term to brown-bill. See Sir T. Warton's life of Sir T. Pope, p. 356, note. The common epithet for a sword, or offensive weapon in the old metrical romances, is brown: as brown brand, or brown sword, brown bill, &c., and sometimes even bright brown sword. Chaucer applies the word rustie in the same sense: he thus describes the reve, "And by his side he bare a rustie blade." And again, even thus the god Mars, "And in his hand he had a rusty sword." Spenser has sometimes used the same epithet. See Warton's Observations, vol. ii. p. 62. Perhaps our ancestors deemed it honorable to carry their weapons stained with the blood of their enemies. In the ballad of Robin Hood, and Guy of Gisborne, l. 148, "with blades both brown and bright." Percy's Reliques, p. 88. See verse 1508 of this canto:

Made bills to pass the grand committee:
When zeal, with aged clubs and gleaves,*
Gave chase to rochets, and white sleeves,†
And made the church, and state, and laws,
Submit t' old iron, and the cause
And as we thriv'd by tumults then,
So might we better now agen,
If we knew how, as then we did,
To use them rightly in our need:
Tumults, by which the mutinous
Betray themselves instead of us;
The hollow-hearted, disaffected,
And close malignant are detected;
Who lay their lives and fortunes down,
For pledges to secure our own;
And freely sacrifice their ears
T' appease our jealousies and fears:
And yet, for all these providences,
W' are offer'd, if we have our senses,
We idly sit, like stupid blockheads,
Our hands committed to our pockets,
And nothing but our tongues at large,
To get the wretches a discharge:
Like men condemn'd to thunder-bolts,
Who, ere the blow, become mere dolts;‡
Or fools besotted with their crimes,
That know not how to shift betimes,
And neither have the hearts to stay,

With new-chalk'd bills, and rusty arms.

Butler, in his MS. Common-place book, says, "The confident "man's wit is like a watchman's bill with a chalked edge, that "pretends to sharpness, only to conceal its dull bluntness from "the public view."

* Zealots armed with old clubs; and *gleaves*, swords, from the Latin, *glaudis*.

† Alderman Pennington, with some hundred of the rabble at his heels, presented a petition to the commons signed with 15,000 names, praying that the government by bishops might be abolished. Afterwards the apprentices were drawn down in great numbers, to cry out at the parliament doors, No bishops, No bishops! By which, and the like means, the bill against the bishops voting in parliament, and that against the earl of Strafford, were made to pass the houses, and obtain the royal assent.

‡ Some of the ancients were of opinion, that thunder stupified before it killed. See Ammian. Marcellin. Vejovis fulmine mox tangendos adeo hebetari, ut nec tonitrum nec majores aliquos possint audire fragores, xvii. 10, and Plin. Nat. Hist. ii. 54. Perhaps the notion may be as old as Æschylus: see his Prometheus.

Nor wit enough to run away :
Who, if we could resolve on either,
Might stand or fall at least together ;
No mean or trivial solaces
To partners in extreme distress,*
Who use to lessen their despairs,
By parting them int' equal shares ;
As if the more they were to bear,†
They felt the weight the easier ;
And ev'ry one the gentler hung,
The more he took his turn among.
But 'tis not come to that, as yet,
If we had courage left, or wit,
Who, when our fate can be no worse,
Are fitted for the bravest course,
Have time to rally, and prepare
Our last and best defence, despair :‡
Despair, by which the gallant'st feats
Have been achiev'd in greatest straits,
And horrid'st dangers safely wav'd,
By b'ing courageously outbrav'd ;
As wounds by wider wounds are heal'd,
And poisons by themselves expell'd ;§
And so they might be now agen,
If we were, what we should be, men ;
And not so dully desperate,
To side against ourselves with fate :
As criminals, condemn'd to suffer,
Are blinded first, and then turn'd over.
This comes of breaking covenants,
And setting up exempts of saints,‖
That fine, like aldermen, for grace,
To be excus'd the efficace :¶

---

* Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.

† In some editions ; as if the more *there* were to bear.

‡ Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.

§ Sneering Sir Kenelm Digby, and others, who assert this as a fact ; indeed, oil is a good cure of the serpent's bite. See v. 1029 of this canto.

‖ Dispensing, in particular instances, with the covenant and obligations.

¶ Persons who are nominated to an office, and pay the accustomed fine, are entitled to the same privileges as if they had performed the service. Thus, some of the sectaries, if they paid handsomely were deemed saints, and full of grace, though, from the tenor of their lives, they merited no such distinction, commuting for their want of real grace, that they might be excused the drudgery of good works, for spiritual men are too transcend

For sp'ritual men are too transcendent,*
That mount their banks for independent,†
To hang, like Mah'met, in the air,‡
Or St. Ignatius, at his prayer,§
By pure geometry, and hate
Dependence upon church or state;
Disdain the pedantry o' th' letter,
And since obedience is better,
The Scripture says, than sacrifice,
Presume the less on't will suffice;
And scorn to have the moderat'st stints
Prescrib'd their peremptory hints,
Or any opinion, true or false,
Declar'd as such, in doctrinals;
But left at large to make their best on,
Without b'ing call'd t' account or quest'on
Interpret all the spleen reveals,
As Whittington explain'd the bells;‖
And bid themselves turn back agen
Lord May'rs of New Jerusalem;
But look so big and overgrown,
They scorn their edifiers t' own,
Who taught them all their sprinkling lessons,
Their tones, and sanctify'd expressions;
Bestow'd their gifts upon a saint,
Like charity, on those that want;

---

ent to grovel in good works, namely, those spiritual men that mount their banks for independent. *Efficace* is an affected word of the poet's own coining, and signifies, I suppose, actual service.

* This and the following lines contain an elegant satire upor those persons who renounce all dependence either on the church or state.

† Etre sur los bancs, is to hold a dispute, to assert a claim, to contest a right or an honor, to be a competitor.

‡ They need no such support as the body of Mahomet; which, history fabulously tells us, is kept suspended in the air, by being placed in a steel coffin between two loadstones of equal powers.

§ Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. An old soldier: at the siege of Pampeluna by the French he had both his legs wounded, the left by a stone, the right broken by a bullet. His fervors in devotion were so strong that they sometimes raised him two cubits from the ground. The same story is told in the legends of Saint Dominick, Xavier, and Philip Neri.

‖ In his imagination their jingle said,

Turn again Whittington,
For thou in time shalt grow
Lord-mayor of London.

Obeying the admonition, he not only attained the promised honor, but amassed a fortune of £350,000. Tatler, No. 78.

And learn'd th' apocryphal bigots
T' inspire themselves with shorthand notes,* 630
For which they scorn and hate them worse
Than dogs and cats do sow-gelders:
For who first bred them up to pray,
And teach the house of commons way?
Where had they all their gifted phrases,
But from our Calamies and Cases?†
Without whose sprinkling and sowing,
Whoe'er had heard of Nye or Owen?‡
Their dispensations had been stifled,
But for our Adoniram Byfield;§ 640

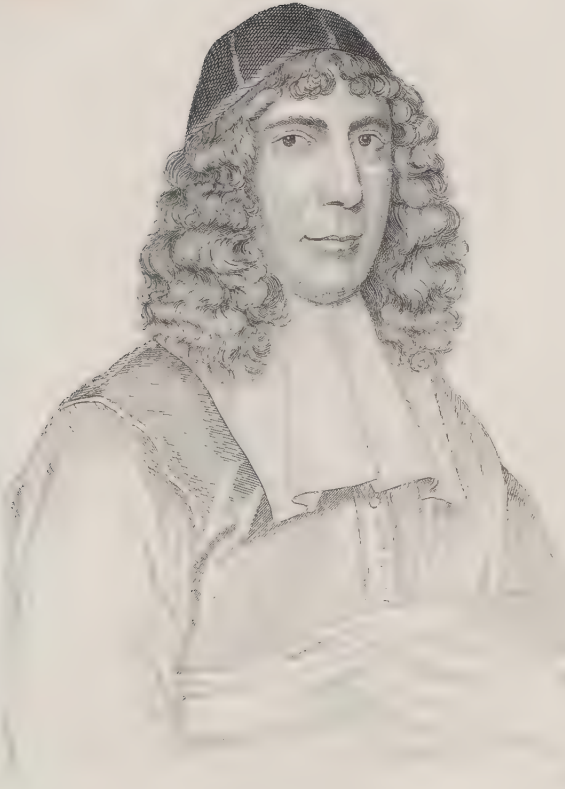
---

* *Learn'd*, that is, taught. *Apocryphal bigots*, not genuine ones, some suppose to be a kind of second-rate Independent divines, that availed themselves of the genuine bigots or Presbyterian ministers' discourse, by taking down the heads of it in shorthand, and then retailing it at private meetings. The accent is laid upon the last syllable of *bigot*.

† Calamy was minister of Aldermanbury, London, a zealous Presbyterian and Covenanter, and frequent preacher before the parliament. He was one of the first who whispered in the conventicles, what afterwards he proclaimed openly, that for the cause of religion it was lawful for the subjects to take up arms against the king. Case, upon the deprivation of a loyalist, became minister of Saint Mary Magdalen church, Milk-street; where it was usual with him thus to invite his people to the communion: "You that have freely and liberally contributed to "the parliament, for the defence of God's cause and the gospel, "draw near," &c., instead of the words, "ye that do truly and "earnestly repent you of your sins." He was one of the assembly of divines, preached for the covenant, and printed his sermon: preached often before the parliament, was a bitter enemy to Independents, and concerned with Love in the plot.

‡ Here read sprinkleing, or sprinkeling. Philip Nye was a most virulent dissenting teacher, zealous against the king and bishops beyond most of his brethren. He went on purpose into Scotland to expedite the covenant, and preached before the houses in England, when that obligation was taken by them. He was at first a Presbyterian, and one of the assembly; but afterwards joined the Independents. At the restoration, it was debated by the healing parliament for several hours, whether he should not be excepted from life. Doctor Owen was a great stickler on the Independent side, and in great credit with Cromwell and his party. He was preferred by them to the deanry of Christ church, in Oxford. The Biographical Dictionary, in 8vo. says, that, in 1654, being vice-chancellor, he offered to represent the university in parliament; and, to remove the objection of his being a divine, renounced his orders, and pleaded that he was a layman. He was returned; but his election being questioned in the committee, he sat only a short time.

§ Byfield was a noted Presbyterian, chaplain to Colonel Cholmondely's regiment, in the earl of Essex's army, and one of the scribes to the assembly of divines. Afterwards he became minister of Collingborn, in Wilts, and assistant to the commissioners in ejecting scandalous ministers.



And had they not begun the war,
They 'ad ne'er been sainted as they are :*
For saints in peace degenerate,
And dwindle down to reprobate ;
Their zeal corrupts, like standing water,
In th' intervals of war and slaughter ;
Abates the sharpness of its edge,
Without the pow'r of sacrilege :†
And tho' they've tricks to cast their sins,
As easy as serpents do their skins,‡
That in a while grow out agen,
In peace they turn mere carnal men,
And from the most refin'd of saints,
As nat'rally grow miscreants
As barnacles turn soland geese
In th' islands of the Orcades.§

* Had not the divines, on the Presbyterian side, fomented the differences, the Independents had never come in play, or been taken notice of.

† That is, if they have not the power and opportunity of committing sacrilege, by plundering the church lands.

‡ Positis novus exuviis, nitidusque juventa. Georg. iii. 437.

§ Our poet was too good a naturalist to suppose that a shell-fish would turn to a goose : but in this place, as in many others, he means to banter some of the papers published by the first establishers of the Royal Society. In the twelfth volume of the Philosophical Transactions, No. 137, p. 925, Sir Robert Moray gives an account of barnacles hanging upon trees, and containing each of them a little bird, so completely formed that nothing appeared wanting, as to the external parts, for making up a perfect sea-fowl : the little bill, like that of a goose ; the eyes marked ; the head, neck, breast, and wings, tail and feet formed ; the feathers every way perfectly shaped, and blackish colored ; and the feet like those of other water fowls. See the Lepas anatifera, Lin. Syst. 668. My friend, Mr. Pennant, observes, (British Zoology, vol. iv. No. 9,) that the animal is furnished with a feathered beard, which in a credulous age was believed to be part of a young bird ; it is a native of hot climates, and found adhering to the bottoms of ships. Heylin says, they are bred in the Isle of Man from rotten wood thrown into the water. The same is mentioned by Camden, and by old Gerard in his Herbal, who gives a print of the goose itself in p. 1587, with a cluster of the shells called Lepas anatifera, or barnacle shells, which he calls Conchæ anatiferæ Britannicæ, and by the wise naturalists of the sixteenth century were thought to generate the birds, which hung for a while by the bill, then fell into the sea, and grew to maturity : they did not, like our poet, make the tree goose a soland goose, but the goose called the barnacle. British Zoology, ii. 269. Sir John Mandeville, in his Voyages, ch. 84, says, "In my country there are trees that do bear fruit "that become birds flying, and they are good to eat, and that "which falls in the water lives, and that which falls on the "earth dies." Ed. London, 1722. Hector Boetius, in his History of Scotland, tells us of a goose-bearing tree, as it is called in the Orcades : that is, one whose leaves falling into the water, are

Their dispensation 's but a ticket
For their conforming to the wicked,
With whom their greatest difference
Lies more in words and shew, than sense ·
For as the Pope, that keeps the gate
Of heaven, wears three crowns of state ;*
So he that keeps the gates of hell,
Proud Cerb'rus, wears three heads as well ;†
And, if the world has any troth,‡
Some have been canoniz'd in both.
But that which does them greatest harm,
Their sp'ritual gizzards are too warm,§
Which puts the overheated sots
In fevers still, like other goats ;‖

---

turned to those geese which are called soland geese, and found in prodigious numbers in those parts. Thus the poet Dubartas:

> So slow Bootes underneath him sees
> In th' icy islands, goslings hatch'd of trees,
> Whose fruitful leaves falling into the water
> Are turn'd ('tis known) to living fowl soon after.

Again:

> So rotten planks of broken ships do change
> To barnacles. Oh! transformation strange!
> 'Twas first a green tree, then a broken hull,
> Lately a mushroom, now a flying gull.

The poet seems to have taken something from each of these stories. In Moore's Travels into the inland parts of Africa, p. 54, we read: "This evening, December 18, 1730, I supped upon "oysters which grew upon trees. Down the river (Gambia) "where the water is salt, and near the sea, the river is bounded "with trees called mangroves, whose leaves being long and "heavy, weigh the boughs into the water. To these leaves "the young oysters fasten in great quantities, where they grow "till they are very large; and then you cannot separate them "from the tree, but are obliged to cut off the boughs. The oys-"ters hanging on them resemble a rope of onions." Mr. Francis Moore, son of a writing-master at Worcester, was many years a factor in the service of the African Company, and travelled five hundred miles up the river Gambia. These oysters are found in Jamaica, and many other places.

* The pope, pretending to have the power of the keys, is called janitor ecclesiæ. The tiara or triple crown is a badge of papal dignity.

† Cerberus hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci
Personat—— Æneis vi. 417.

‡ Many bad as well as good men have been honored with the title of saints.

§ Persons are said to have a broiling in their gizzards when they stomach any thing very much.

‖ Capras sanas sanus nemo promittet, nunquam enim sine febre sunt. Varro ii. 3, 5. Columella says they are extremely sickly. And Plutarch ii. p. 290, that they are subject to epilepsies. In the notes on Varro, it is observed that the learned Co

For tho' the whore bends hereticks
With flames of fire, like crooked sticks,*
Our schismatics so vastly differ,
Th' hotter they 're they grow the stiffer;
Still setting off their sp'ritual goods,
With fierce and pertinacious feuds:
For zeal's a dreadful termagant,
That teaches saints to tear and rant,
And independents to profess
The doctrine of dependences;
Turns meek, and secret, sneaking ones,†
To raw-heads fierce, and bloody-bones;
And not content with endless quarrels
Against the wicked, and their morals,
The Gibellines, for want of Guelfs,‡
Divert their rage upon themselves.
For now the war is not between
The brethren and the men of sin,
But saint and saint to spill the blood
Of one another's brotherhood,
Where neither side can lay pretence
To liberty of conscience,§
Or zealous suff'ring for the cause,
To gain one groat's worth of applause.
For tho' endur'd with resolution,
'Twill ne'er amount to persecution;
Shall precious saints, and secret ones,
Break one another's outward bones,‖
And eat the flesh of brethren,
Instead of kings and mighty men?

teler was suckled by a she-goat; and in consequence was a valetudinary through life, subject to melancholy, and scarcely ever without a fever.

* The pope of Rome is, by some, thought to be the same with the whore of Babylon mentioned in the Revelation: and the Romanists are said to have attempted the conversion of infidels by means of fire and fagots, as men made crooked sticks straight by fire and steam.

† In some editions we have a better reading thus:

Turns meek, and sneaking secret ones.

‡ These names of distinction were first made use of at Pistoia, where, when the magistrates expelled the Panzatichi, there chanced to be two brothers, Germans, one of whom, named Guelph, was for the pope, the other, Gibel, for the emperor. The spirit of these parties raged with violence in Italy and Germany.

§ That is, not having granted liberty of conscience.

‖ A sneer upon the canting abuse of scripture phrases, alluding to Psalm ii. v. 9; thus again l. 328 of this canto: the same may be said of lines 326 and 700.

When fiends agree among themselves,*
Shall they be found the greater elves?†
When Bell's at union with the Dragon,
And Baal Peor friends with Dagon;
When savage bears agree with bears,‡
Shall secret ones lug saints by th' ears,
And not atone their fatal wrath,§
When common danger threatens both?
Shall mastiffs, by the collars pull'd,
Engag'd with bulls, let go their hold;
And saints, whose necks are pawn'd at stake,‖
No notice of the danger take;
But tho' no pow'r of heaven or hell
Can pacify fanatic zeal,
Who would not guess there might be hopes,
The fear of gallowses and ropes
Before their eyes might reconcile
Their animosities a while.
At least until they 'ad a clear stage,
And equal freedom to engage,
Without the danger of surprise
By both our common enemies?¶
This none but we alone could doubt,**
Who understood their workings-out,
And know 'em both in soul and conscience,
Giv'n up t' as reprobate a nonsense††
As spiritual out-laws, whom the pow'r
Of miracle can ne'er restore.
We, whom at first they set up under,
In revelation only of plunder,
Who since have had so many trials
Of their encroaching self-denials,‡‡

---

* O shame to men! devil with devil damn'd
Firm concord holds—— Paradise Lost, ii. 496.

† *They*, that is the saints, see v. 689, 697.

‡ —— sævis inter se convenit ursis. Juv. Sat. xv. 164.

§ *Atone*, that is, reconcile, see v. 717.

‖ That is, *and saints*, whose all is at stake, as they are to be hanged if things do not take a friendly turn. See v. 716.

¶ That is, by the common enemies of us both.

** None but we alone could doubt that the fear of gallowses might reconcile their animosities, &c.

†† Given up to a state of reprobation and guidance of their own folly, like persons under such an irrevocable sentence of excommunication, that even their power of working miracles would never avail to gain them absolution, and reinstate them.

‡‡ The Independents got rid of the Presbyterian leaders by the self-denying ordinance.

That rook'd upon us with design*
To out-reform and undermine;
Took all our int'rests and commands
Perfidiously out of our hands;
Involv'd us in the guilt of blood,
Without the motive gains allow'd,†
And made us serve as ministerial,
Like younger sons of father Belial.
And yet, for all th' inhuman wrong
Th' had done us, and the cause so long,
We never fail'd to carry on
The work still, as we had begun:
But true and faithfully obey'd,
And neither preach'd them hurt, nor pray'd;
Nor troubled them to crop our ears,
Nor hang us, like the cavaliers;
Nor put them to the charge of jails,
To find us pill'ries and cart-tails,
Or hangman's wages, which the state
Was forc'd before them, to be at;
That cut, like tallies, to the stumps,
Our ears for keeping true accompts,‡
And burnt our vessels, like a new-
Seal'd peck, or bushel, for being true;
But hand in hand, like faithful brothers,
Held forth the cause against all others,
Disdaining equally to yield
One syllable of what we held.
And though we differ'd now and then
'Bout outward things, and outward men,
Our inward men, and constant frame
Of spirit still were near the same;
And till they first began to cant,
And sprinkle down the covenant,

---

* That played the cheat.

† That is, without allowing the gains which were the motives to such actions.

‡ Tallies are corresponding notches which traders make on sticks: they are planed away when the accounts are allowed, or liquidated. The meaning seems to be, the state before the public confusion made us suffer for keeping true accounts, or for being true, cutting our ears like tallies, and branding the vessels of our bodies like a measure with the mark fresh upon it: the tallies so cut as keeping true accounts: the measure so sealed, or branded, as being a true one: this suits with the character of Lilburn. See note on line 421. London and other towns have the power of examining weights and measures, and usually put their seal upon such as are true and just, which are thence called sealed weights, and sealed measures

We ne'er had call in any place,
Nor dream'd of teaching down free grace;
But join'd our gifts perpetually,
Against the common enemy.
Although 'twas ours, and their opinion,
Each other's church was but a Rimmon.*
And yet, for all this gospel-union,
And outward shew of church-communion,
They'll ne'er admit us to our shares
Of ruling church, or state affairs,
Nor give us leave t' absolve, or sentence
T' our own conditions of repentance:
But shar'd our dividend o' th' crown,
We had so painfully preach'd down;
And forc'd us, tho' against the grain,
T' have calls to teach it up again.†
For 'twas but justice to restore
The wrongs we had receiv'd before;
And when 'twas held forth in our way,
We 'ad been ungrateful not to pay:
Who for the right we've done the nation,
Have earn'd our temporal salvation,
And put our vessels in a way,
Once more to come again in play:
For if the turning of us out,
Has brought this providence about,
And that our only suffering
Is able to bring in the king,‡

---

* A Syrian idol. See 2 Kings, v. 18. And Paradise Lost, 467:

Him followed Rimmon, whose delightful seat
Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks
Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid streams.

The meaning is, that in our and their opinion, church communion with each other was a like case with that of Naaman's bowing himself in the house of Rimmon, equally laying both under the necessity of a petition for pardon: the Independents knew that their tenets were so opposite to those of the Presbyterians, that they could not coalesce, and therefore concealed them, till they were strong enough to declare them.

† The Presbyterians entered into several plots to restore the king. For it was but justice, said they, to repair the injuries we had received from the Independents; and when monarchy was offered to be restored in our own sense, and with all the limitations we desired, it had been ungrateful not to consent.

‡ Many of the Presbyterians, says Lord Clarendon, when ousted of their preferment, or secluded from their house of commons by the Independents, pretended to make a merit of it in respect of their loyalty. And some of them had the confidence to present themselves to King Charles the Second, both before and after his restoration, as sufferers for the crown; though they

What would our actions not have done,
Had we been suffer'd to go on?
And therefore may pretend t' a share,*
At least, in carrying on th' affair:
But whether that be so, or not,
We 've done enough to have it thought,
And that's as good as if we 'ad done 't,
And easier past upon account:
For if it be but half deny'd,
'Tis half as good as justify'd.
The world is naturally averse
To all the truth it sees or hears,
But swallows nonsense and a lie,
With greediness and gluttony;
And tho' it have the pique, and long,
'Tis still for something in the wrong:†
As women long when they 're with child,
For things extravagant and wild;
For meats ridiculous and fulsome,
But seldom any thing that's wholesome;
And, like the world, men's jobbernoles
Turn round upon their ears, the poles;‡
And what they 're confidently told,
By no sense else can be controll'd.
And this, perhaps, may be the means
Once more to hedge in providence.
For as relapses make diseases
More desp'rate than their first accesses;
If we but get again in pow'r,
Our work is easier than before;
And we more ready and expert
I' the mystery, to do our part:
We, who did rather undertake
The first war to create, than make;§
And when of nothing 'twas begun,‖

---

had been violent sticklers against it: this, their behavior, our poet ridicules in many places of this canto

* To make out the grammatical construction, this verse must be connected with verse 790.

† *Pica* is a depraved appetite, or desire of improper food to which pregnant women, or sickly females, are sometimes subject.

‡ Men's *heads* are turned with the lies and nonsense which they hear, and attend to. See v. 1008.

§ By creating war, he means, finding pretences for it, stirring up and fomenting it. By making war, he means waging and carrying it on.

‖ Upon no occasion or provocation.

Rais'd funds as strange, to carry 't on
Trepann'd the state, and fac'd it down,
With plots and projects of our own:
And if we did such feats at first,
What can we now we 're better vers'd?
Who have a freer latitude
Than sinners give themselves, allow'd;
And therefore likeliest to bring in,
On fairest terms, our discipline;
To which it was reveal'd long since
We were ordain'd by Providence,
When three saints' ears, our predecessors,
The cause's primitive confessors,*
B'ing crucify'd, the nation stood
In just so many years of blood,†
That, multiply'd by six express'd
The perfect number of the beast,‡
And prov'd that we must be the men
To bring this work about agen;

* Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, three busy writers at the beginning of the civil war, were set in the pillory, and had their ears cropped. Hence the poet jocosely calls them primitive confessors. The severe sentence which was passed on these persons, and on Leighton, contributed much to inflame the minds of men, and to incense them against the bishops, the star-chamber, and the government.

† The civil war lasted six years, from 1642, till the death of the king in 1648-9.

‡ Alluding to Revelation, ch. xiii. 18. "Here is wisdom. "Let him that hath understanding count the number of the "beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is six "hundred threescore and six." The multiplication of three units by six, gives three sixes, and the juxtaposition of three sixes makes 666, or, which comes to the same thing—three units placed by the side of each other (111) is one hundred and eleven, which, multiplied by (6) six, is equal to (666) six hundred sixty-six, the number of the beast. This mysterious number and name excited the curiosity of mankind so early, that even in the second century, Irenæus started various conjectures on the subject. He supposes the name may be Evanthas, Lateinos, Teitan, &c., which last he prefers. But he adds, with a modesty ill-imitated by later expositors—"Yet, I venture not "to pronounce positively concerning the name of antichrist: "for, had it been intended to be openly proclaimed to the pres "ent generation, it would have been uttered by the same person "who saw the revelation." Fevardent discovered this number in the name of Martin Luther, which originally, he says, was Martin Lauter.*

* From Fevardent's Notes on Irenæus, l. v. c. 30, p. 487, ed. Paris, folio, A. D. 1675. Initio vocabatur *Martin Lauter;* cujus nominis literas si Pythagorice et ratione subducas et more Hebræorum et Græcorum alphabeti crescat numerus, primo mona-

And those who laid the first foundation,
Compleat the thorough reformation:
For who have gifts to carry on
So great a work, but we alone?

---

dum, deinde decadum hinc centuriarum, numerus nominis Bestiæ, id est, 666, tandem perfectum comperies, hoc pacto.

M	30	L	20
A	1	A	1
R	80	U	200
T	100	T	100
I	9	E	5
N	40	R	80

300	5	10	300	1	50	
T	E	I	T	A	N	

Equal to 666.

I can make nothing of Luther, nor of the Greek alphabet; but let me read Lauter, and make numerals of the Latin alphabet, and then things will fadge or fit. Other names applicable to Antichrist, collected by Fevardent from various authors are:

1 Ευανθας 2 Λατεινος 3 Τειταν
4 Αρνουμαι 5 Λαμπετις 6 Ο Νικητης
7 Κακος οδηγος 8 Αληθης βλαβερος
9 Παλαι βασκανος 10 Αμνος αδικος
11 Αντεμος 12 Γενσηρικος.

The first three Greek names are proposed by Irenæus. Fevardent prefers Maometis to them all.

Irenæus's rational reflection on the whole is luckily preserved *in the original Greek* (for in general only a barbarous Latin version of this father remains) by Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. v. 8.

Ἡμεῖς οὖν οὐκ ἀποκινδυνεύομεν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Ἀντιχριστου ἀποφαινόμενοι βεβαιωτικῶς. Εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἀναφανδὸν τῳ νῦν καιρῳ κηρύττεσθαι τοὔνομα αὐτοῦ, ὁι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐῤῥέθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος

That this mark of Antichrist engaged the attention of the sectaries, will appear by the following quotation from the pretended posthumous works of Mr. Butler, in the character of an assembly man. "O how they have torn poor bishops' names to pick "out the number 666. Little dreaming that a whole baker's "dozen of their own assembly have that beastly number in each "of their names; and that as exactly as their solemn league and "covenant consists of 666 words." Or from the character of an hermetic philosopher, written by Butler himself: "By this "means they have found out who is the true owner of the beast "in the apocalypse, which has long passed for a stray among "the learned; what is the true product of 666. that has rung like "Whittington's bells in the ears of expositors." But some have thought that this passage alludes not to the apocalyptic, but to the independent beast, and explain it thus; "*In just three years "of blood*, for the king set up his standard in August, 1642, "and the battle of Naseby was fought in June, 1645, which "proved the deciding battle," says Ludlow, "the king's party "after that time never making any considerable opposition, "which three bloody years, thus answering to three confessors, "being multiplied by six, the number of their crucified ears, ex"pressed the perfect number of years in which the independent "beast should prevail, namely 18, reckoning from the commencement of the war to the restoration."

What churches have such able pastors,
And precious, powerful, preaching masters?
Possess'd with absolute dominions
O'er brethren's purses and opinions,
And trusted with the double keys
Of heav'n, and their warehouses;
Who, when the cause is in distress,
Can furnish out what sums they please,
That brooding lie in bankers' hands,
To be dispos'd at their commands;
And daily increase and multiply,
With doctrine, use, and usury:
Can fetch in parties, as in war
All other heads of cattle are,
From th' enemy of all religions,
As well as high and low conditions,
And share them from blue ribbons down
To all blue aprons in the town;*
From ladies hurry'd in calleches,
With cornets at their footmen's breeches,†
To bawds as fat as mother Nab,‡
All guts and belly, like a crab.
Our party's great, and better ty'd
With oaths, and trade, than any side;§
Has one considerable improvement,
To double-fortify the cov'nant;
mean our covenant to purchase‖
Delinquents' titles, and the church's,
That pass in sale, from hand to hand,
Among ourselves, for current land,
And rise or fall, like Indian actions,
According to the rate of factions;

---

* Tradesmen and their apprentices took a very active part in the troubles, both by preaching and fighting.

† Calleche, calash, or chariot. Cornets were ornaments which servants wore upon their breeches: though some critics would read coronets.

‡ Ladies of this profession are generally described as coarse and fat. The orator means, that the leaders of the faction could fetch in parties of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, from lady Carlisle to the lowest mechanic in a blue apron.

§ The strength of the Presbyterian party lay in the covenanters, and the citizens.

‖ In the first line, the word cov'nant is two syllables, in the second line it is three.*

* Where one word ends with a vowel, and the next begins with one, Butler either leaves them as two syllables, or contracts them into one, as best suits his verse. Where a vowel is a word by itself it is sometimes, perhaps, not reckoned in scanning. See P. i. c. ii. v. 705, and P. ii. c. ii. v. 670.

Our best reserve for reformation,
When new outgoings give occasion ;
That keeps the loins of brethren girt,
Their covenant, their creed, t' assert ;*
And, when they've pack'd a parliament,
Will once more try th' expedient :
Who can already muster friends,
To serve for members to our ends,
That represent no part o' th' nation,
But Fisher's-folly congregation ;†
Are only tools to our intrigues,
And sit like geese to hatch our eggs ;
Who, by their precedents of wit,
T' outfast, outloiter, and outsit,‡
Can order matters under-hand,
To put all bus'ness to a stand ;
Lay public bills aside, for private,
And make 'em one another drive out ;
Divert the great and necessary,
With trifles to contest and vary ;
And make the nation represent,
And serve for us in parliament ;

* A lay preacher at Banbury said, "We know, O Lord, that Abraham made a covenant, and Moses and David made a covenant, and our Saviour made a covenant, but the parliament's covenant is the greatest of all covenants." The marquis of Hamilton being sent into Scotland to appease the troubles there, demanded of the Scotch that they should renounce the covenant; they answered, that they would sooner renounce their baptism.

† Jasper Fisher, one of the six clerks in chancery, spent his fortune in laying out magnificent gardens, and building a fine house; which, therefore, was called Fisher's Folly. It was afterwards used as a conventicle; perhaps of Quakers. See Fuller's Worthies, p. 197, and Stowe's Survey. The place where the house stood is now Devonshire-square, in the city. Here is an equivoque on the word *represent*. It means either to stand in the place of, and be substituted by others, or to resemble, and be like them. In the first sense, the members they should pack, would represent their constituents; but in the latter sense, only a meeting of enthusiastic sectaries.

‡ By these arts and methods, the leaders on the parliament side defeated the purposes of the loyalists, and carried such points in the house as were disagreeable to the sober part, and indeed, to the majority. Thus the remonstrance was carried, as Lord Clarendon says, merely by the hour of the night; the debates being continued till two o'clock, and very many having withdrawn out of pure faintness and disability to attend the conclusion. The bill against episcopacy, and others, were carried by out-fasting, and out-sitting those who opposed it: which made Lord Falkland say, that they who hated bishops, hated them worse than the devil, and those that loved them, loved them not so well as their own dinners.

Cut out more work than can be done
In Plato's year,* but finish none,
Unless it be the bulls of Lenthal,
That always pass'd for fundamental :†
Can set up grandee against grandee,
To squander time away, and bandy ;
Make lords and commoners lay sieges
To one another's privileges :
And, rather than compound the quarrel,
Engage, to th' inevitable peril
Of both their ruins, th' only scope
And consolation of our hope ;
Who, tho' we do not play the game,
Assist as much by giving aim ;‡
Can introduce our ancient arts,
For heads of factions t' act their parts ;
Know what a leading voice is worth,
A seconding, a third, or fourth ;
How much a casting voice comes to,
That turns up trump of Ay, or No ;
And, by adjusting all at th' end,
Share ev'ry one his dividend.
An art that so much study cost,
And now's in danger to be lost,
Unless our ancient virtuosos,
That found it out, get into th' houses.
These are the courses that we took
To carry things by hook or crook,§

---

* The Platonic year, or time required for a complete revolution of the entire machine of the world, has by some been made to consist of 4000 common years: others have thought it must extend to 26,000, or still more. Magnus annus tum efficitur, cum solis, et lunæ, et quinque errantium, ad eandem inter se comparationem confectis omnium spatiis est facta conversio. Quæ quam longa sit, magna quæstio est. Cicero de Nat. Deor. ii. 20.

† The ordinances published by the house of commons were signed by Lenthal the speaker and are therefore called the bulls of Lenthal. They may be termed fundamentals, because many of them were issued by order of the rump parliament.

‡ Or in the bowler's phrase, by *giving ground*.

§ Crook and Hutton were the only judges who dissented from their brethren, when the case of ship-money was argued in the exchequer: which occasioned the wags to say that the king carried it by Hook, but not by Crook: Dr. Grey on the passage; but the saying is of much older date, and only applied as a pun by Butler, and the wits of the reign of Charles the First. We find it used by Skelton, and by Spenser frequently, B. v. c. i. st. 27:

'The which her sire had scrapt by hooke and crooke;'

And practis'd down from forty-four,
Until they turn'd us out of door:*
Besides the herds of Boutefeus
We set on work, without the house,
When ev'ry knight and citizen
Kept legislative journeymen,
To bring them in intelligence,
From all points of the rabble's senso,
And fill the lobbies of both houses
With politic important buzzes;
Set up committees of cabals,†
To pack designs without the walls;
Examine and draw up all news,
And fit it to our present use;
Agree upon the plot of the farce,
And ev'ry one his part rehearse;
Make Q's of answers, to way-lay
What th' other party's like to say;‡
What repartees, and smart reflections,
Shall be return'd to all objections;
And who shall break the master jest,
And what, and how, upon the rest;
Help pamphlets out, with safe editions,
Of proper slanders and seditions,
And treason for a token send,
By letter, to a country friend;
Disperse lampoons, the only wit
That men, like burglary commit,
With falser than a padder's face,
That all its owner does betrays;
Who therefore dares not trust it, when
He's in his calling, to be seen.§

---

and again, B. iii. c. i. st. 17:

"In hopes her to attaine by hooke or crooke."

[The fact is, that *hook* is the same as *crook*. See our old dictionaries. The original meaning, therefore, was, either in one form or the other. Todd. Minshew explains it *per fas aut nefas*.]

* From the time of the self-denying ordinance, 1644, when the Presbyterians were turned out from all places of profit and power; till December 7, 1648, when they were turned out of the parliament-house by Colonel Pride, forty-one members seized by the soldiers, and one hundred and sixty excluded.

† The poet probably alludes to the ministers of Charles the Second, the initials of whose names made up the word cabal, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, Lauderdale.

‡ Prisoners in Newgate, and other jails, have often sham-examinations, to prepare them with answers for their real trials.

§ Padders, or highwaymen, frequently cover their faces with a mask or piece of crape.

Disparse the dung on barren earth,
To bring new weeds of discord forth;
Be sure to keep up congregations,
In spite of law and proclamations
For charlatans can do no good,
Until they 're mounted in a crowd
And when they 're punish'd, all the hurt
Is but to fare the better for't;
As long as confessors are sure
Of double pay for all th' endure,*
And what they earn in persecution,
Are paid t' a groat in contribution:
Whence some tub-holdersforth have made
In powd'ring tubs their richest trade;
And, while they kept their shops in prison,
Have found their prices strangely risen.†
Disdain to own the least regret
For all the christian blood we 've let;
'Twill save our credit, and maintain
Our title to do so again;
That needs not cost one dram of sense,
But pertinacious impudence.
Our constancy t' our principles,
In time will wear out all things else;
Like marble statues, rubb'd in pieces

---

* Alluding to the three persons before-mentioned, Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, who, having been pilloried, fined, and banished to different parts of the kingdoms, by the sentence of the Star-chamber, were by the parliament afterwards recalled, and rewarded out of the estates of those who had punished them. In their way back to London they were honored with loud acclamations, and received many presents.

———silenc'd ministers,
That get estates by being undone
For tender conscience, and have none:
Like those that with their credit drive
A trade without a stock, and thrive.
Butler's Remains, vol. i. p. 63.

† Probably powdering-tubs here signifies prisons. See P. iii. c. iii. l. 210. When any one is in a bad scrape, he is said to be in a pretty pickle. See P. ii. c. i. v. 366. [Ancient Pistol throws some light upon this passage when he bids Nym

"to the spital go,
"And from the *powdering tub* of infamy
"Fetch forth the lazar kite of Cressid's kind,
"Doll Tearsheet she by name, and her espouse."

Butler may mean that some of the tub-holdersforth kept houses of ill-fame, from whence the transit to the powdering-tub was frequent. Such persons are also not unfrequently sent to prison, and persecution has ever the effect of raising the *prices* of the doctrines of the persecuted.]

With gallantry of pilgrims' kisses;*
While those who turn and wind their oaths,
Have swell'd and sunk, like other froths;
Prevail'd a while, but 'twas not long
Before from world to world they swung;
As they had turn'd from side to side,
And as the changelings liv'd, they dy'd.
This said, th' impatient statesmonger
Could now contain himself no longer,†
Who had not spar'd to shew his piquest
Against th' haranguer's politics,
With smart remarks of leering faces,
And annotations of grimaces.
After he had administer'd a dose§
Of snuff mundungus to his nose,
And powder'd th' inside of his skull,
Instead of th' outward jobbernol,‖
He shook it, with a scornful look,
On th' adversary, and thus he spoke
In dressing a calf's head, altho'
The tongue and brains together go,
Both keep so great a distance here,
'Tis strange if ever they come near;
For who did ever play his gambols
With such insufferable rambles,
To make the bringing in the king,
And keeping of him out, one thing?
Which none could do, but those that swore
T' as point-blank nonsense heretofore;
That to defend was to invade,
And to assassinate to aid:¶

* Round the Casa Santa of Loretto, the marble is worn into a deep channel, by the knees and kisses of the pilgrims and others. [The statues both of gods and saints have been, and are, worn by the touch of their votaries; of the former the knees were the suffering parts.]

† As the former orator, whoever he was, had harangued on the side of the Presbyterians, his antagonist, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, now smartly inveighs against them, and justifies the principles and conduct of the Independents.

‡ His aversion or antipathy.

§ Some editions read, *minister'd a dose.*

‖ That is, thick skull, stupid head, from the Flemish, jobbe insulsus, ignavus, and the Ang. Sax. cnoll, vertex.

¶ This alludes to Ralph, who was charged with intention to kill the king when imprisoned in the isle of Wight. Lord Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 180, intimates that sergeant Wild, who was sent to Winchester to try the prisoner, gave an unfair charge to the jury, by saying: "There was a time indeed when intentions "and words were made treason; but God forbid it should be so

Unless, because you drove him out,
And that was never made a doubt;
No pow'r is able to restore
And bring him in, but on your score;
A sp'ritual doctrine, that conduces
Most properly to all your uses.
'Tis true, a scorpion's oil is said
To cure the wounds the vermin made;*
And weapons, dress'd with salves, restore
And heal the hurts they gave before:†
But whether presbyterians have
So much good nature as the salve,
Or virtue in them as the vermin,
Those who have try'd them can determine.
Indeed 'tis pity you should miss
Th' arrears of all your services,
And for th' eternal obligation
Y' have laid upon th' ungrateful nation,
B' us'd so unconscionably hard,
As not to find a just reward,
For letting rapine loose, and murther,
To rage just so far, but no further;‡
And setting all the land on fire,
To burn t' a scantling, but no higher:
For vent'ring to assassinate,
And cut the throats of church and state;
And not be allow'd the fittest men
To take the charge of both agen:

"now: how did anybody know but that those two men, Osborne "and Doucet, would have made away with the king, and that "Ralph charged his pistol to preserve him." Perhaps the noble historian here shows something of party spirit.

* Dr. Mead, in his Essay on Poisons, says, viper-catchers, if they happen to be bitten by a viper, are so sure of being cured by rubbing the fat upon the place, that they fear a bite no more than they do the prick of a pin. The Doctor himself tried it upon dogs, and found it a sure remedy. He supposes the fat to involve, and, as it were, sheath the volatile salts of the venom. Prodest scorpius ipse suæ plagæ impositus. Pliny in his Natural History 29. 29.

† According to Sir Kenelm Digby's doctrine of sympathy.

‡ Though the Presbyterians began the war, yet they pretended they had no thoughts of occasioning the bloodshed and devastation which was consequent upon it. They intended to bring the king to reason, not to murder him. But it happened to them, as to the young magician in Lucian, who, by certain words he had learned of his master, sent a fountain to fetch water; The poor scholar, however, not recollecting the words to make it stop, the fountain went and fetched water without ceasing, till it filled the house up to the windows. A similar tale is related in verse by several poets, both French and English.

Especially that have the grace
Of self-denying gifted face;
Who, when your projects have miscarry'd,
Can lay them, with undaunted forehead,
On those you painfully trepann'd,
And sprinkled in at second hand;
As we have been, to share the guilt
Of christian blood, devoutly spilt;*
For so our ignorance was flamm'd
To damn ourselves, t' avoid being damn'd;†
Till finding your old foe, the hangman,
Was like to lurch you at backgammon,‡
And win your necks upon the set,
As well as ours, who did but bet;
For he had drawn your ears before,
And nick'd them on the self-same score,
We threw the box and dice away,
Before y' had lost us at foul play;
And brought you down to rook and lie,
And fancy only on the by;§
Redeem'd your forfeit jobbernoles,
From perching upon lofty poles,
And rescu'd all your outward traitors,
From hanging up, like alligators;‖
For which ingeniously ye 've shew'd
Your presbyterian gratitude;
Would freely have paid us home in kind,

---

* The war was begun and carried on by the Presbyterians with a great show of godliness, for the sake of religion, and in defence of the gospel.

† To commit such damnable sins as robbery, rebellion, and murder, with a view of keeping out Arminianism, popery, &c., which we were made to believe were likely to overspread the kingdom, and would be destructive to our salvation. Thus Martial, Epig. lib. ii. 80:

Hostem cum fugeret, se Fannius ipse peremit
Hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriare, mori?

‡ Finding the king was likely to get the better of you, and that we were all in danger of being hanged as traitors, we took the war from your hands into our own management.

§ *By*-bets are bets made beside the game, often by standers-by: the Presbyterians, from being principals in the cause, were reduced to make a secondary figure, and from playing the game became lookers-on.

‖ Alligators were frequently hung up in shops of quacks, druggists, and apothecaries. Thus Romeo says of the Apothecary:

And in his needy shop a tortoise hung,
An alligator stuft, and other skins
Of ill-shap'd fishes.

And not have been one rope behind.*
Those were your motives to divide,
And scruple, on the other side,† 1080
To turn your zealous frauds, and force,
To fits of conscience and remorse;
To be convinc'd they were in vain,
And face about for new again;
For truth no more unveil'd your eyes, 1085
Than maggots are convinc'd to flies;‡
And therefore all your lights and calls
Are but apocryphal and false,
To charge us with the consequences,
Of all your native insolences, 1090
That to your own imperious wills
Laid law and gospel neck and heels;§
Corrupted the Old Testament,
To serve the New for precedent;

---

* The Dissenters, when in power, were no enemies to persecution. See Dissenters' Sayings, by Sir Roger L'Estrange, Second Part, printed 1681. Edwards, in his Full Answer, p. 244, says: "A toleration of one or more different ways of churches and "church government established, will be to this kingdom very "mischievous, pernicious, and destructive." Love, in his sermon at Uxbridge, January 30, 1644, p. 26: "I have often thought "that too much mercy towards malignants hath made more de-"linquents than ever justice punished." Marshall, to the commons, February 23, 1641: "He is a cursed man that withholds "his hand from shedding of blood; or shall do it, as Saul did "against the Amalekites, kill some, and save some." And Baxter, in his Preface to the Nonconformists' Plea, "Liberty, in all "matters of worship and of faith, is the open and apparent way "to set up popery in the land." Calamy being asked, what he would do with those who differed from him in opinion, said, "He would not meddle with their consciences, only with their "persons and estates."

† He tells the Presbyterians, that their jealousy of the Independents caused them to discontinue their exertions, not any conviction of their having been in the wrong.

‡ The change was produced in them merely by the course of their nature. The edition of 1710 reads:

Than maggots when they turn to flies.

§ Some persons have sought for a system of natural philosophy in the Old Testament, "inter viva quærentes mortua," as Lord Bacon says: who wisely adds "tantoque magis hæc vani "tas inhibenda venit, et coercenda, quia ex divinorum et huma "norum malesana admistione, non solum educitur philosophia "phantastica, sed etiam religio hæretica." Novum Organum, sect. lxv. Others have there found, or thought they found, the sublimest doctrines of Christianity. The famous Postellus observed, that there were eleven thousand proofs of the Trinity in the Old Testament, interpreted rightly, that is, ετυμολογιστικως, καββαλιστικως.

T' amend its errors and defects,
With murder and rebellion texts;*
Of which there is not any one
In all the book to sow upon;
And therefore, from your tribe, the Jews
Held christian doctrine forth, and use;
As Mahomet, your chief, began
To mix them in the Alcoran;†
Denounc'd and pray'd, with fierce devotion,
And bended elbows on the cushion;
Stole from the beggars all your tones,
And gifted mortifying groans;
Had lights where better eyes were blind,
As pigs are said to see the wind;‡
Fill'd Bedlam with predestination,
And Knightsbridge with illumination;§
Made children, with your tones, to run for't,
As bad as Bloodybones or Lunsford.‖

* The Presbyterians, he says, finding no countenance for their purposes in the New Testament, took their measures of obedience from some instances of rebellion in the Old. The Presbyterian printer, who printed the seventh commandment, Thou *shalt* commit adultery, was heavily fined for his blunder.

† In his Pindaric Ode upon an hypocritical non-conformist, Remains, vol. i. p. 135, Mr. Butler says:

For the Turks' patriarch, Mahomet,
Was the first great reformer, and the chief
Of th' ancient christian belief,
That mix'd it with new light and cheat,
With revelations, dreams, and visions,
And apostolic superstitions,
To be held forth, and carry'd on by war:
And his successor was a presbyter.

‡ Pigs have remarkable small eyes, and yet are said to be very sagacious in foretelling wind and weather. Thus, in a poem entitled Hudibras at Court, we read:

And now, as hogs can see the wind,
And storms at distance coming find.

This observation occurs three times in the books falsely called the Posthumous Works of Mr. Samuel Butler, 4th edition, 1732. Plutarch remarks a peculiarity in pigs' eyes. They are so situated and constructed, that the animal cannot look upwards, and never hath a view of the heavens till he is thrown upon his back, and then, clamorous as he is, astonishment and terror silence him in an instant.

§ At this village, near London, was a famous mad-house, to which the poet alludes.

‖ Frightened children as much by your preaching, as if you had told them the dismal story of Rawhead and Bloody-bones, or had related to them the cruelties which you affirm were practised by Colonel Lunsford. Colonel Lunsford, killed at Bristol, 1643, was a man of great sobriety, industry, and courage

While women, great with child, miscarry'd,
For being to malignants marry'd:
Transform'd all wives to Dalilahs,
Whose husbands were not for the cause;*

---

but his enemies painted him as a cruel brute. Sir Thomas Lunsford was made lieutenant of the Tower by the king, a little before the beginning of the war: but afterwards removed by him at the desire of the parliament. An order was made in the parliament for suppressing Lunsford and Lord Digby, though at the same time all the cavalry they had was an hired coach and six horses. In the third act of Sir Robert Howard's comedy of The Committee, the first bailiff says:

O! 'tis a bloody-minded man!
I'll warrant you this vile cavalier has eat many a child.

[Dr. Grey says: It was one of the artifices of the malecontents in the civil war to raise false alarms, and to fill the people full of frightful apprehensions. In particular they raised a terrible outcry of the imaginary danger they conceived from the Lord Digby, and Colonel Lunsford. Lilbourn glories upon his trial, for being an incendiary on such occasions, and mentions the tumult he raised against the innocent colonel as a meritorious action; "I was once arraigned," says he, "before the house of peers, "for sticking close to the liberties and privileges of this nation, "and those that stood for them, being one of those two or three "men that first drew their swords in Westminster-hall against "Colonel Lunsford, and some scores of his associates. At that "time it was supposed they intended to cut the throats of the "chiefest men then sitting in the house of peers." And to render him the more odious, they reported that he was of so brutal an appetite that he would eat children. (Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 286,) which scandalous insinuation is deservedly ridiculed in the following lines:

From Fielding, and from Vavasour,
Both ill-affected men;
From Lunsford eke deliver us,
That eateth up children.

The Parliament Hymns, Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. i. No. xvii. p. 38.

Cleveland banters them upon the same head:

The post that came from Banbury,
Riding in a blue rocket,
He swore he saw, when Lunsford fell,
A child's arm in his pocket.

And to make this gentleman the more detestable, they made horrid pictures of him, as we learn from the following lines of Mr. Cleveland: Rupertismus, Works, 1677, p. 67:

"They fear the giblets of his train, they fear
"Even his dog, that four-legg'd cavalier;
"He that devours the scraps which Lunsford makes,
"Whose picture feeds upon a child in stakes."

Mr. Gayton, in banter of this idle opinion, (see Notes on Don Quixote, book iii. chap. vi. p. 103,) calls Saturn the very Lunsford of the deities.]

* If the husband sided not with the Presbyterians, his wife

And turn'd the men to ten-horn'd cattle,
Because they came not out to battle ;*
Made tailors' 'prentices turn heroes,
For fear of being transform'd to Meroz,† 1120
And rather forfeit their indentures,
Than not espouse the saints' adventures:
Could transubstantiate, metamorphose,
And charm whole herds of beasts, like Orpheus ;‡
Enchant the king's and church's lands, 1125
T' obey and follow your commands,
And settle on a new freehold,
As Marcle-hill had done of old :§
Could turn the cov'nant, and translate
The gospel into spoons and plate ; 1130
Expound upon all merchants' cashes,
And open th' intricatest places ;
Could catechize a money-box,
And prove all pouches orthodox ;

---

was represented as insidious and a betrayer of her country's interest, such as Dalilah was to Samson and the Israelites. Judges xvi.

* Resembled them to the ten horns, or ten kings, who gave their power and strength to the beast. Revelation, xvii. 12. See also Daniel vii. v. 7. A cuckold is called a horned beast; a notorious cuckold may be called a ten-horned beast, there being no beast known with more horns than the beast in vision.

† "Curse ye Meroz," said the angel of the Lord; "Curse ye "bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the "help of the Lord against the mighty." Judges v. 23. This was a favorite text with those who preached for the parliament: and it assisted them much in raising recruits.

‡ Mulcentem tigres, et agentem carmine quercus.
Georg. iv. 510.

§ Not far from Ledbury, in Herefordshire, toward the conflux of the Lug and Wye, in the parish of Marcle, is a hill, which in the year 1575 moved to a considerable distance. Philips in his Cider, (p. 12, l. 801, ed. Dunster,) speaking of Marcle-hill, says:

Deceitful ground, who knows but that once more
The mount may journey, and his present site
Forsaking, to thy neighbours' bounds transfer
The goodly plants, affording matter strange
For law debates ———

Camden, in his Life of Queen Elizabeth, book ii. p. 20, thinks the motion was occasioned by an earthquake, which he calls brasmatia; though the cause of it more probably was a subterraneous current. Some houses and a chapel were overturned. I remember an accident of this kind which happened near Grafton, on the side of Bredon-hill, and another at Broseley in Shropshire. A similar phenomenon was observed at Eroge, in Judea, in the time of king Uzziah, and is recorded by Josephus, lib. ix. cap. 11.

Until the cause became a Damon, 1135
And Pythias the wicked Mammon.*
And yet, in spite of all your charms
To conjure legions up in arms,
And raise more devils in the rout
Than e'er y' were able to cast out, 1140
Y' have been reduc'd, and by those fools,
Bred up, you say, in your own schools,
Who, tho' but gifted at your feet,†
Have made it plain they have more wit,
By whom you've been so oft' trepann'd, 1145
And held forth out of all command:
Out-gifted, out-impuls'd, out-done,
And out-reveal'd at carryings-on;
Of all your dispensations worm'd,
Out-providenc'd and out-reform'd; 1150
Ejected out of church and state,
And all things but the people's hate;
And spirited out of th' enjoyments
Of precious, edifying employments,

* Until Mammon and the cause were as closely united, and as dear friends as Damon and Pythias, two persons whose friendship is celebrated by Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, and others. In Jamblichus's Life of Pythagoras, No. 234, this story is related at length from Aristoxenus, who heard it from the mouth of Dionysius himself, the tyrant concerned, after he was dispossessed of the sovereignty, and became a schoolmaster at Corinth. As it rests upon better authority than such narratives in general can appeal to, it is here abridged for the amusement of the reader. Though I must first observe, that the true name of one of those friends was not Pythias, but Phintias. See Porphyr. in vita Pythagoræ. ult. p. 53, ed. Kuster. Tull. de Offic. iii. 10, and Lactantius, v. 17.—The courtiers of Dionysius the younger, tyrant of Sicily, contended in his presence that the boasted virtues of the Pythagoreans, their determined spirit, their apathy, their firmness in friendship, were all mere illusions, which would vanish on the first appearance of danger or distress. To prove this assertion, they agreed to accuse Phintias, one of the sect, of a conspiracy against the sovereign. He was summoned before the tyrant, who informed him of the charge, and to his great surprise added, that there was the fullest evidence of his guilt, and he must die. Phintias replied, if it were so, he would only beg the respite of a few hours, while he might go home and settle the common concerns of his friend Damon and himself: in the mean time, Damon would be security for his appearance. Dionysius assented to the proposal; and when Damon surrendered himself the courtiers all sneered, concluding that he was become the dupe of his own credulity. But, on the return of Phintias in the evening, to release his bail, and submit to his sentence, they were quite astonished; and none more than the tyrant himself, who embraced the illustrious pair, and requested they would admit him to a share in their friendship.

† "Bred up at the feet of Gamaliel."

By those who lodg'd their gifts and graces,
Like better bowlers, in your places:
All which you bore with resolution,
Charg'd on th' account of persecution;
And tho' most righteously oppress'd,
Against your wills, still acquiesc'd;
And never humm'd and hah'd sedition,
Nor snuffled treason, nor misprision:
That is, because you never durst;
For had you preach'd and pray'd your worst,
Alas! you were no longer able
To raise your posse of the rabble:
One single redcoat sentinel
Outcharm'd the magic of the spell,
And, with his squirt-fire,* could disperse
Whole troops with chapter rais'd and verse.
We knew too well those tricks of yours,
To leave it ever in your powers,
Or trust our safeties, or undoings,
To your disposing of outgoings,
Or to your ordering providence,
One farthing's worth of consequence.
For had you pow'r to undermine,
Or wit to carry a design,
Or correspondence to trepan,
Inveigle, or betray one man;
There's nothing else that intervenes,
And bars your zeal to use the means;
And therefore wond'rous like, no doubt,
To bring in kings, or keep them out:
Brave undertakers to restore,
That could not keep yourselves in pow'r;
T' advance the int'rests of the crown,
That wanted wit to keep your own.
'Tis true you have, for I'd be loth
To wrong ye, done your parts in both;
To keep him out, and bring him in,
As grace is introduc'd by sin:†
For 'twas your zealous want of sense,
And sanctify'd impertinence;
Your carrying bus'ness in a huddle,
That forc'd our rulers to new-model;
Oblig'd the state to tack about,
And turn you, root and branch, all out;

* His musket, so called in the true spirit of burlesque.
† Thus Saint Paul to the Romans: "Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?"

To reformado, one and all,
T' your great croysado general :*
Your greedy slav'ring to devour,†
Before 'twas in your clutches' pow'r ;
That sprung the game you were to set,
Before ye 'ad time to draw the net :
Your spite to see the church's lands
Divided into other hands,
And all your sacrilegious ventures
Laid out in tickets and debentures :
Your envy to be sprinkled down,
By under-churches in the town ;‡
And no course us'd to stop their mouths,
Nor th' independents' spreading growths :
All which consider'd, 'tis most true
None bring him in so much as you,
Who have prevail'd beyond their plots,§

---

* The parliament, that they might not seem to continue the war from any regard to their own interest and advantage, passed a vote, December 9, 1644, to prevent the members of either house from holding offices in the state. This was called the self-denying ordinance. The secret intention of it was to lessen the influence of the Presbyterians, which it soon effected, by depriving Essex, their general, and many others, of their employments. He calls him their croisado general, because they pretended to engage in the war chiefly on account of religion : the holy war against the Turks and Saracens had the name of croisado, from the cross displayed on the banners. The old annotator, and after him Dr. Grey, tells us, that the general here designed was Fairfax. But neither the scope of the poet, nor the truth of history, will admit of this application of the passage. For the person who speaks is an Independent, and he tells the Presbyterian that the Independents were obliged to turn out the Presbyterians and their general. This suits exactly with Essex, who altogether espoused the Presbyterian interest ; and was laid aside, with the rest of the Presbyterians, by the contrivance above mentioned. Whereas Fairfax, though he thought himself a Presbyterian, as Lord Clarendon says, was always linked with the Independents, and executed their designs. He was first raised to the command by the intrigues of Cromwell and Ireton, because they knew him to be an easy man, one who would submit to their direction. Neither is it true that Fairfax was dismissed. On the contrary, he laid down his commission, though Cromwell, Whitelock, and the heads of the party, desired him to keep his command, and a solemn conference was held with him, the particulars whereof may be seen in Whitelock's Memorial. The reader must constantly remember, that it is an Independent here speaking, defending his sect against the former speaker, who was a Presbyterian.

† That is, letting your mouths greedily water.

‡ Your impatience under the disgrace of being out-preached by the Independent teachers.

§ The plots of the royalists, I think, are here meant, though in that sense the passage is not strictly grammatical.

Their midnight juntos, and seal'd knots;
That thrive more by your zealous piques,
Than all their own rash politics.
And this way you may claim a share
In carrying, as you brag, th' affair,
Else frogs and toads, that croak'd the Jews
From Pharaoh and his brick-kilns loose,
And flies and mange, that set them free
From task-masters and slavery,
Were likelier to do the feat,
In any indiff'rent man's conceit:
For who e'er heard of restoration,
Until your thorough reformation?*
That is, the king's and church's lands
Were sequester'd int' other hands:
For only then, and not before,
Your eyes were open'd to restore;
And when the work was carrying on,
Who cross'd it, but yourselves alone?
As by a world of hints appears,
All plain, and extant, as your ears.†
But first, o' th' first: The isle of Wight
Will rise up, if you shou'd deny 't;
Where Henderson and th' other masses,‡

* The Independent here charges the Presbyterians with having no design of restoring the king, notwithstanding the merit they made of such intentions after the restoration, until they were turned out of all profit by sale of the crown and church lands, and that it was not their loyalty, but their disappointment and resentment against the Independents, that made them think of treating with the king.

† May be spoken in ridicule, because many of the Presbyterians had lost their ears in the pillory. Or the poet may recollect his "long ear'd rout." In Dryden's Hind and Panther, we have a similar allusion:

And pricks up his predestinating ears.

‡ That is, the other divines. Ministers in those days were called masters, as they are at the 854th line of this canto. One of this order would have been styled, not the reverend, but master, or master doctor such an one; and sometimes, for brevity's sake, and familiarly, mas; the plural of which, our poet makes masses. See Ben Johnson, and Spectator, No. 147.* Mr. Butler, in this place, must be charged with a small anachronism; for the treaty at the isle of Wight was subsequent to the death of Henderson by the space of two years. The divines employed there, were †Marshal, Vines, Caryl, Seaman, Jenkyns, and Shurston: Henderson was present at the Uxbridge

* Andrew Cant is there called *Mas* Cant.

† Carte says, Marshal, Vines, and two others. Stephen Marshal, he says, was a bloody man in all his prayers and sermons; and Mr. Vines a more Christian spirit, more modest, learned, pious, and rational in his discourses.

Were sent to cap texts, and put cases:
To pass for deep and learned scholars,
Altho' but paltry Ob and Sollers:*
As if th' unseasonable fools
Had been a coursing in the schools.†
Until they 'ad prov'd the devil author
O' th' covenant, and the cause his daughter;

---

treaty; and disputed with the king at Newcastle when he was in the Scottish army. Soon after which he died, as some said, of grief, because he could not convince the king: but as others said, of remorse, for having opposed him. According to these last, while on his deathbed, he published a solemn declaration to the parliament and synod of England, setting forth that they had been abused with most false aspersions against his majesty; and that they ought to restore him to his full rights, royal throne and dignity, lest an endless character of ingratitude lie upon them. Of the king himself, beside commending his justice, magnanimity, and other virtues, he speaks in these terms: "I do declare before God and the world, whether in re-"lation to the kirk or state, I found his majesty the most intel-"ligent man that I ever spake with; as far beyond my expres-"sion as expectation. I profess, I was oftentimes astonished "with the quickness of his reasons and replies: wondered how "he, spending his time in sport and recreations, could have at-"tained to so great knowledge: and I must confess, that I was "convinced in conscience, and knew not how to give him any "reasonable satisfaction. Yet the sweetness of his disposition "is such, that whatever I said was well taken. I must say, "that I never met with any disputant of that mild and calm "temper, which convinced me, that his wisdom and modera-"tion could not be without an extraordinary measure of divine "grace. I dare say, if his advice had been followed, all the "blood that has been shed, and all the rapine that has been "committed, would have been prevented." If it be true that Henderson made this declaration, it will amount to the highest encomium that could possibly be bestowed upon the king, particularly as coming from the mouth of an enemy.

* That is, although only contemptible dabblers in school logic. So in Burton's Melancholy, "A pack of Obs and Sollers." The polemic divines of that age and stamp, filled the margins both of their tracts and sermons with the words Ob and Sol; the one standing for objection, the other for solution. Bishop Sanderson, in his Concio ad Aulam, says—"The devil is an arrant sophister, 'and will not take an answer, though never so reasonable and "satisfactory, but will ever have somewhat or other to reply.—'So long as we hold us but to Ob and Sol, to argument and 'answer, he will never out, but wrangle ad infinitum." So we say, pro and con. The old annotator's note on this passage is so erroneous, as to show plainly that he could not be Butler.

† *Coursing* is a term used in the university of Oxford for some exercises preparatory to a master's degree. They were disputations in Lent, which were regulated by Dr. John Fell; for before his time, the endeavors of one party to run down and confute another in disputations, did commonly end in blows, and domestic quarrels, the refuge of the vanquished party. Wood's Athen vol. ii. p. 603. Hence, and from another passage or two, it has been thought that Mr. Butler had received an academical education.

For when they charg'd him with the guilt
Of all the blood that had been spilt,
They did not mean he wrought th' effusion
In person, like Sir Pride, or Hughson,*
But only those who first begun
The quarrel were by him set on;
And who could those be but the saints,
Those reformation termagants?
But ere this pass'd, the wise debate
Spent so much time it grew too late;†
For Oliver had gotten ground,
T' enclose him with his warriors round;
Had brought his providence about,
And turn'd th' untimely sophists out.‡
Nor had the Uxbridge bus'ness less
Of nonsense in't, or sottishness;
When from a scoundrel holderforth,§
The scum, as well as son o' the earth,
Your mighty senators took law,
At his command were forc'd t' withdraw,
And sacrifice the peace o' th' nation
To doctrine, use, and application,
So when the Scots, your constant cronies,
Th' espousers of your cause and monies,‖

* Pride was originally a carman; but at last became a famous colonel in the parliament army, was knighted by Cromwell with a fagot stick, hence in derision called *Sir* Pride, and made one of his lords in parliament. Hughson was at first a shoemaker or a cobbler, afterwards colonel in the parliament army, and one of Oliver's lords of the upper house.

† The treaty at the Isle of Wight was appointed at the first for forty days; then continued for thirteen days longer, then for four, and at last for one more. By this artifice the king's enemies gave Cromwell time to return from Scotland. Whereas it had been the true interest and policy of all that desired peace and a settlement of the kingdom, to have hastened the treaty while the army was absent.—Lord Clarendon. During the treaty, Cromwell and his officers frequently petitioned parliament to punish delinquents.—Whitelock's Mem.

‡ Untimely, usually signifies premature, but here, unseasonable.

§ Christopher Love, a furious Presbyterian, who preached a sermon at Uxbridge during the treaty held here, introducing many reflections upon his majesty's person and government, and stirring up the people against the king's commissioners. He was executed in 1651 for treason, by means of Cromwell and the Independents.

‖ The Scots, in their first expedition, 1640, had 300,000*l.* given them for brotherly assistance, besides a contribution of 850*l.* a day from the northern counties. In their second expedition, 1643, besides much free quarter, they had 31,700*l.* monthly, and received 72,972*l.* in one year by customs of coals. The parlia-

Who had so often, in your aid,
So many ways been soundly paid,
Came in at last for better ends,
To prove themselves your trusty friends,
You basely left them, and the church
They train'd you up to, in the lurch,
And suffer'd your own tribe of christians
To fall before, as true Philistines.*
This shews what utensils y' have been,
To bring the king's concernments in;
Which is so far from being true,
That none but he can bring in you;
And if he take you into trust,
Will find you most exactly just,
Such as will punctually repay
With double int'rest, and betray.
Not that I think those pantomimes,
Who vary action with the times,
Are less ingenious in their art,
Than those who dully act one part;
Or those who turn from side to side,
More guilty than the wind and tide.
All countries are a wise man's home,†
And so are governments to some
Who change them for the same intrigues
That statesmen use in breaking leagues;
While others in old faiths and troths
Look odd, as out-of-fashion'd clothes,
And nastier in an old opinion,
Than those who never shift their linen.
For true and faithful 'sure to lose,
Which way soever the game goes;
And whether parties lose or win,
Is always nick'd, or else hedg'd in:
While pow'r usurp'd, like stol'n delight,

ment agreed with them for 400,000*l.* on the surrender of the king.—Dugdale.

* The Scots made a third expedition into England, 1648, under Duke Hamilton, which was supposed to be intended for the rescue of the king. They entered a fourth time under Charles II., when the Presbyterians were expected to join them. Yet the latter assisted Cromwell: even their preachers marched with him; thus suffering Presbyterian brethren, a portion of the true church, or true Israelites, to fall before the Independent army, whom they reckoned no better than Philistines.

† Omne solum forti patria est. Ovid.

Ibi esse judicabo Romam, ubicunque liberum esse licebit, says Brutus in a letter to Cato.

Is more bewitching than the right:
And when the times begin to alter,
None rise so high as from the halter.*
And so we may, if we 've but sense
To use the necessary means,
And not your usual stratagems
On one another, lights, and dreams
To stand on terms as positive,
As if we did not take, but give:
Set up the covenant on crutches,
'Gainst those who have us in their clutches,
And dream of pulling churches down,
Before we 're sure to prop our own:
Your constant method of proceeding,
Without the carnal means of heeding,
Who, 'twixt your inward sense and outward,
Are worse, than if ye 'ad none accoutred.
I grant all courses are in vain,
Unless we can get in again:†
The only way that's left us now,
But all the difficulty's, how?
'Tis true we 've money, th' only power
That all mankind falls down before,
Money, that, like the swords of kings,
Is the last reason of all things;‡
And therefore need not doubt our play
Has all advantages that way;
As long as men have faith to sell,
And meet with those that can pay well;
Whose half-starv'd pride and avarice,

* In a conference between Mr. le President de Bellievre and Cardinal de Retz, I will tell you, said the former, what I learned from Cromwell. Il me disoit un jour, que l'on ne montoit jamais si haut, que quand on ne sait où l'on va. Vous savez, dis-je à Bellievre, que j'ai horreur pour Cromwell; mais, quelque grand homme qu'on nous le prône, j'ajoute le mepris; s'il est de ce sentiment, il est d'un fou. De Retz adds, that this conversation came to Cromwell's ears; and that he had like to have paid dearly in the sequel for the indiscretion of his tongue.—Mem. de Retz, vol. ii. lib. iii. p. 385.

† When General Monk restored the excluded members, the rumpers, perceiving they could not carry things their own way, and rule as they had done, quitted the house.

‡ Diodorus Siculus relates, that when the height of the walls of Amphipolis was pointed out to Philip, as rendering the town impregnable, he observed, they were not so high but money could be thrown over them. And Cicero, in his second oration against Verres, Nihil est tam sanctum quod non violari, nihil tam munitum quod non expugnari, pecuniâ possit. The motto upon the cannon of the king of France was, Ratio ultima regum

One church and state will not suffice
T' expose to sale ;* besides the wages†
Of storing plagues to after ages.
Nor is our money less our own,
Than 'twas before we laid it down ;
For 'twill return, and turn t' account,
If we are brought in play upon 't,
Or but by casting knaves, get in,
What pow'r can hinder us to win ?
We know the arts we us'd before,
In peace and war, and something more.
And by th' unfortunate events,
Can mend our next experiments :
For when we 're taken into trust,
How easy are the wisest chous'd,
Who see but th' outsides of our feats,
And not their secret springs and weights ;
And while they 're busy, at their ease,
Can carry what designs we please ?
How easy is 't to serve for agents,
To prosecute our old engagements ?
To keep the good old cause on foot,
And present pow'r from taking root ;‡
Inflame them both with false alarms
Of plots, and parties taking arms ;
To keep the nation's wounds too wide
From healing up of side to side ;

---

* There is a list of above a hundred of the principal actors in this rebellion, among whom the plunder of the church, crown, and kingdom was divided; to some five, ten, or twenty thousand pounds; to others, lands and offices of many hundreds or thousands a year. At the end of the list, the author says, it was computed that they had shared among themselves near twenty millions.

† They allowed, by their own order, four pounds a week to each member; each member of the assembly of divines was allowed four shillings a day. Are the members of the National Assembly in France better paid? (1793.) [Whether they were better paid or not they certainly succeeded in *storing plagues to after ages*, as well as partaking largely of them themselves. Liberty and philanthropy in their mouths,—tyranny and blood in their deeds,—they at last naturally succumbed to a military despot, who in his turn fell under the avenging swords of injured Europe. A Restoration follows, and now a new Revolution, being the First of the Second Series.—Comment va le monde ? Tout à la ronde.]

‡ General Monk and his party, or the committee of safety: for we must understand the scene to be laid at the time when Monk bore the sway, or, as will appear by-and-by, at the roasting of the rumps, when Monk and the city of London united against the rump parliament.

Profess the passionat'st concerns
For both their interests by turns,
The only way t' improve our own,
By dealing faithfully with none;
As bowls run true, by being made
On purpose false, and to be sway'd,
For if we should be true to either,
'Twould turn us out of both together;
And therefore have no other means
To stand upon our own defence,
But keeping up our ancient party
In vigour, confident and hearty:
To reconcile our late dissenters,
Our brethren, though by other venters;
Unite them, and their different maggots,
As long and short sticks are in faggots,*
And make them join again as close,
As when they first began t' espouse;
Erect them into separate
New Jewish tribes in church and state;†
To join in marriage and commerce,‡
And only 'mong themselves converse,
And all that are not of their mind,
Make enemies to all mankind:§
Take all religions in, and stickle
From conclave down to conventicle;‖
Agreeing still or disagreeing,
According to the light in being,
Sometimes for liberty of conscience,
And spiritual misrule in one sense;
But in another quite contrary,
As dispensations chance to vary;
And stand for, as the times will bear it,
All contradictions of the spirit:

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* Vis unita fortior. See Æsop's Fables, 171, ed. Oxon. and Plutarch de Garrulitate, ii. p. 511. Swift told this fable after the ancients, with exquisite humor, to reconcile queen Ann's ministers.

† Make them distinct in their opinions and interests, like the Jews, who were not allowed to intermarry or converse with the nations around them.

‡ The accent is here laid upon the last syllable of commerce, as in Waller, p. 59, small edition by Fenton:

Or what commerce can men with monsters find.

§ The odium humani generis of Tacitus, and the non monstra re vias eadem nisi sacra colenti of the same author, are here alluded to.

‖ That is, papists as well as non-conformists

Protect their emissaries,* empower'd
To preach sedition, and the word;
And when they 're hamper'd by the laws,
Release the lab'rers for the cause,
And turn the persecution back
On those that made the first attack,
To keep them equally in awe
From breaking, or maintaining law:
And when they have their fits too soon,
Before the full-tides of the moon,
Put off their zeal t' a fitter season,
For sowing faction in and treason;
And keep them hooded, and their churches,
Like hawks, from baiting on their perches;†
That when the blessed time shall come
Of quitting Babylon and Rome,
They may be ready to restore
Their own fifth monarchy once more.‡
Mean-while be better arm'd to fence
Against revolts of providence,§
By watching narrowly, and snapping
All blind sides of it, as they happen:
For if success could make us saints,
Our ruin turn'd us miscreants;‖
A scandal that would fall too hard
Upon a few, and unprepar'd.
These are the courses we must run,
Spite of our hearts, or be undone,
And not to stand on terms and freaks,
Before we have secur'd our necks.
But do our work as out of sight,
As stars by day, and suns by night;
All licence of the people own,
In opposition to the crown;
And for the crown as fiercely side,
The head and body to divide.

* Read, Protect their *emissaires*, as the French in three syllables, otherwise there is a syllable too much in the verse.

† From being too forward, or ready to take flight.

‡ In addition to the four great monarchies which have appeared in the world, some of the enthusiasts thought that Christ was to reign temporally upon earth, and to establish a fifth monarchy.

§ The sectaries of those days talked more familiarly to Almighty God, than they dared to do to a superior officer: they remonstrated with him, made him the author of all their wicked machinations, and, if their projects failed, they said that Providence had revolted from them.

‖ Suppose we read, Turns us miscreants.

The end of all we first design'd,
And all that yet remains behind,
Be sure to spare no public rapine,
On all emergencies that happen;
For 'tis as easy to supplant
Authority, as men in want;
As some of us, in trusts, have made
The one hand with the other trade;
Gain'd vastly by their joint endeavour,
The right a thief, the left receiver;
And what the one, by tricks, forestall'd,
The other, by as sly, retail'd.*
For gain has wonderful effects
T' improve the factory of sects;
The rule of faith in all professions,
And great Diana of th' Ephesians;
Whence turning of religion's made
The means to turn and wind a trade.
And though some change it for the worse,
They put themselves into a course,
And draw in store of customers,
To thrive the better in commerce:
For all religions flock together,
Like tame and wild fowl of a feather:
To nab the itches of their sects,
As jades do one another's necks.
Hence 'tis hypocrisy as well
Will serve t' improve a church, as zeal;
As persecution or promotion,
Do equally advance devotion.
Let bus'ness, like ill watches, go
Sometime too fast, sometime too slow;
For things in order are put out
So easy, ease itself will do 't:
But when the feat's design'd and meant,
What miracle can bar th' event?
For 'tis more easy to betray,
Than ruin any other way.
All possible occasions start,
The weightiest matters to divert;
Obstruct, perplex, distract, entangle,
And lay perpetual trains, to wrangle.*

* Exactly the advice given in Aristophanes to the sausage-maker turned politician, Equites, v. 214. Many political characters, in the time of Oliver, seem to have followed it. Si quid inter comitia disceptandum, quæsitis diverticulis, aut injectis inter

But in affairs of less import,
That neither do us good nor hurt,
And they receive as little by,
Out-fawn as much, and out comply,
And seem as scrupulously just,
To bait our hooks for greater trust.
But still be careful to cry down
All public actions, tho' our own;
The least miscarriage aggravate,
And charge it all upon the state:
Express the horrid'st detestation,
And pity the distracted nation;
Tell stories scandalous and false,
I' th' proper language of cabals,*
Where all a subtle statesman says,
Is half in words, and half in face;
As Spaniards talk in dialogues
Of heads and shoulders, nods and shrugs:
Entrust it under solemn vows
Of mum, and silence, and the rose,†
To be retail'd again in whispers,
For th' easy credulous to disperse.
Thus far the statesman—When a shout,
Heard at a distance, put him out;
And strait another, all aghast,
Rush'd in with equal fear and haste,
Who star'd about, as pale as death,
And, for a while, as out of breath,
Till, having gathered up his wits,

æstus disputandi scrupulis, ut rei determinatio in aliud tempus destineretur procurabant. De regiis concessionibus usque ad diem posterum acriter disputatum est; dum interea scrupulos nectunt, disseminant rixas, scindunt in diversum partes, longisque oratiunculis tempus terunt oligarchichi et democratici.

* Mr. Butler has seldom been so inattentive to rhyme, as in this and the following couplet.

† When any thing was said in confidence, the speaker in conclusion generally used the word mum, or silence. The rose was considered by the ancients as an emblem of silence, from its being dedicated by Cupid to Harpocrates, the god of silence, to engage him to conceal the actions of his mother, Venus. Whence, in rooms designed for convivial meetings, it was customary to place a rose above the table, to signify that any thing there spoken ought never to be divulged. The epigram says:

Est rosa flos Veneris, cujus quo facta laterent,
Harpocrati, matris dona, dicavit amor.
Inde rosam mensis hospes suspendit amicis,
Conviva ut sub eâ dicta tacenda sciat.

A rose was frequently figured on the ceiling of rooms, both in England and Germany

He thus began his tale by fits:*
That beastly rabble—that came down
From all the garrets—in the town,
And stalls, and shop-boards—in vast swarms,
With new-chalk'd bills—and rusty arms,
To cry the cause—up, heretofore,
And bawl the bishops—out of door;
Are now drawn up—in greater shoals,
To roast—and broil us on the coals,
And all the grandees—of our members
Are carbonading—on the embers;
Knights, citizens, and burgesses—
Held forth by rumps—of pigs and geese,
That serve for characters—and badges
To represent their personages.
Each bonfire is a funeral pile,
In which they roast, and scorch, and broil,
And ev'ry representative
Have vow'd to roast—and broil alive:
And 'tis a miracle we are not
Already sacrific'd incarnate;
For while we wrangle here, and jar,
W' are grilly'd all at Temple-bar;
Some, on the sign-post of an ale-house,
Hang in effigy, on the gallows,†
Made up of rags to personate
Respective officers of state;
That, henceforth, they may stand reputed,
Proscrib'd in law, and executed,
And, while the work is carrying on,
Be ready listed under Dun,
That worthy patriot, once the bellows,
And tinder-box of all his fellows;‡

* By this speaker is represented Sir Martin Noel, who, while the cabal was sitting, brought news that the rump parliament was dismissed, the secluded members brought into the house, and that the mob of London approved of the measure. Mr. Butler tells this tale for Sir Martin with wonderful humor.

† For, or instead of, a gallows, would, perhaps, be a more correct reading: it is better to hang the effigy on the sign-post, than the original on the lamp-iron.

‡ Dun was common hangman at that time, and succeeding executioners went by his name, till eclipsed by squire Ketch. But the character here delineated was certainly intended for Sir Arthur Hazlerig, knight of the shire, in the long parliament, for the county of Leicester, and one of the five members of the house of commons impeached by the king in the beginning of that parliament. He brought in the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford, and the bill against episcopacy; though the

The activ'st member of the five,
As well as the most primitive ;
Who, for his faithful service then,
Is chosen for a fifth agen :
For since the state has made a quint
Of generals, he's listed in't.*
This worthy, as the world will say,
Is paid in specie, his own way ;
For, moulded to the life, in clouts,
They 've pick'd from dunghills hereabouts,

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latter was delivered by Sir Edward Deering at his procurement. He also brought in the bill for the militia. Lord Clarendon says, he was used like the dove out of the ark, to try what footing the party could have for their designs. He was a hot-headed republican, and made great disturbances afterwards in the parliament of Oliver and Richard. He was always one of the rump : and a little before this time, when the committee of safety had been set up, and the rump excluded, he had seized Portsmouth for their use. It is probable that he might call Sir Arthur by the hangman's name, either for some barbarous execution which he had caused to be done in a military way, or for his forwardness and zeal in parliament in bringing the royalists to execution, and the king himself : for I find three addresses, which we may well suppose were promoted by him ; one from the garrisons of Newcastle and Tinmouth, where Hazlerig was governor ; another from the mayor and aldermen of Newcastle ; and a third from the county of Leicester, which Hazlerig represented ; all of them for the trial of the king. Dun, however, is sometimes put for don or knight, as at line 110 of the next canto. Before Monk's intentions were known, Hazlerig, in a conversation with him, said, "I see which way things are going ; monarchy will "be restored ; and then I know what will become of me." "Pugh," replied Monk, "I will secure you for two-pence." In no long time after, when the secret was out, Hazlerig sent Monk a letter, with two-pence enclosed. This incident is mentioned in the third volume of Lord Clarendon's State Papers, printed at Oxford. Sir Arthur enlisted many soldiers, and had a regiment called his Lobsters.

Without pretending that Butler had any view in this to the ancients, it reminds me of the magnificent titles given to successful generals. Fabius, I think, was called the shield, Marcellus the sword of Rome, and Scipio the thunderbolt of war. Swift excelled in this species of humor :

> Would you describe Turenne or Trump,
> Think of a bucket or a pump.

* *Quint*, that is, a quorum of five. After the death of Cromwell, and the deposition of Richard, when the rump parliament was restored, lest any commander-in-chief should again usurp the sovereignty, they resolved that their speaker should hold the offices both of general and admiral, which for a time he did. The government of the army was then put into the hands of seven commissioners, of whom Hazlerig was one. And again February 11, 1659, Monk, Hazlerig, Walton, Morley, and Alured, were appointed commissioners to govern the army. Whitelock's words are, "that Hazlerig did drive on furiously."

He's mounted on a hazel bavin*
A cropp'd malignant baker gave 'em ;†
And to the largest bonfire riding,
They 've roasted Cook already, and Pride in ;‡
On whom, in equipage and state,
His scare-crow fellow-members wait,
And march in order, two and two,
As at thanksgivings th', us'd to do ;
Each in a tatter'd talisman,
Like vermin in effigy slain.
But, what's more dreadful than the rest,
Those rumps are but the tail o' th' beast,
Set up by popish engineers,
As by the crackers plainly appears ;
For none but jesuits have a mission
To preach the faith with ammunition,
And propagate the church with powder ;
Their founder was a blown-up soldier.§
Those spiritual pioneers o' th' whore's,
That have the charge of all her stores ;
Since first they fail'd in their designs,‖
To take in heav'n by springing mines,
And, with unanswerable barrels
Of gunpowder, dispute their quarrels,
Now take a course more practicable,
By laying trains to fire the rabble,
And blow us up, in th' open streets,

* An hazel fagot, such as bakers heat their ovens with.

† Pillory, and cropping the ears, was a punishment inflicted on bakers who made short weight, or bad bread. The sectaries called all those malignants who were not of their party.

‡ Cook was solicitor at the king's trial; he drew up a charge against him; and was ready with a formal plea, in case the king had submitted to the jurisdiction of the court. The plea was printed, and answered by Butler, in his Remains, (not the genuine ones, vol. i. p. 116.) Lord Clarendon allows him to have been a man of abilities. His defence at his trial was bold and manly, though not discreet or judicious. Pride has been spoken of before. It was he who garbled the house of commons, causing 41 members to be seized and confined, and denying entrance to 160 more; several others being terrified declined sitting, and left the house to about 150, who passed the vote for the trial of the king. This expulsion was called Colonel Pride's Purge, and was the beginning of the rump parliament.

§ Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits, was a Spanish gentleman, and bred a soldier: wounded at the siege of Pampeluna by the French in 1521.

‖ Alluding to the gunpowder-plot, in the reign of James I., supposed to have been conducted by the Jesuits, and for which Garnet and Oldcorn suffered.

Disguis'd in rumps, like sambenites,*
More like to ruin and confound,
Than all their doctrines underground.
Nor have they chosen rumps amiss,†
For symbols of state-mysteries;
Tho' some suppose, 'twas but to shew
How much they scorn'd the saints, the few,
Who, 'cause they 're wasted to the stumps,
Are represented best by rumps.‡
But jesuits have deeper reaches
In all their politic far-fetches;
And from the Coptic priest, Kircherus,
Found out this mystic way to jeer us :§
For, as the Egyptians us'd by bees
T' express their ancient Ptolemies,‖
And by their stings, the swords they wore,
Held forth authority and pow'r;
Because these subtle animals
Bear all their int'rests in their tails;
And when they 're once impair'd in that,

* Persons wearing the sambenito: a straight yellow coat without sleeves, having the picture of the devil painted upon it in black, wherein the officers of the inquisition disguise and expose heretics after their condemnation.

† The several pleasant arguments which follow, may be seen in a prose tract of the author's, called a speech made at the Rota. Remains, vol. i. page 320.

‡ Lord Clarendon says, they were called the rump parliament, as being the fag end of a carcass long since expired: they were reduced to less than a tenth part of their original number.

§ The Christians in Egypt are called Coptics, from a city in or near which many of them dwelt. [Dr. Nash settles the question of *Coptic* very easily; but if the reader has any wish to puzzle his brains in a research upon this point, he has only to turn to any work where ancient Egypt is treated of, and he will immediately get into an etymological chase with Cupti, Giptu, Gibbetu, Ægopthus, and King Copte, that will assure him good sport and carry him far beyond the Doctor's city; as may be seen from a glance at Todd's definition,—"*Coptick*, from *Coptus*, converted, by changing K into G, into the Gr. Αιγυπτος."] Athanasius Kircher, the Jesuit, wrote many books on the antiquities of Egypt, one of them is called Œdipus Egyptiacus; for which he says he studied the Egyptian mysteries twenty years.

‖ As the Egyptians anciently represented their kings under the emblem of a bee, which has the power of dispensing benefits and inflicting punishments by its honey and its sting, though the poet attends principally to the energy which it bears in its tail; so the citizens of London significantly represented this fag-end of a parliament by the rumps, or tail-parts, of sheep and other animals: some editions read *antique* Ptolemies.

Are banish'd their well-order'd state:
They thought all governments were best
By hieroglyphic rumps exprest.
For, as in bodies natural,
The rump's the fundament of all;
So, in a commonwealth or realm,
The government is called the helm;
With which, like vessels under sail,
They're turn'd and winded by the tail.
The tail, which birds and fishes steer,
Their courses with, thro' sea and air;
To whom the rudder of the rump is
The same thing with the stern and compass,
This shews, how perfectly the rump
And commonwealth in nature jump.
For as a fly that goes to bed,
Rests with his tail above his head,*
So, in this mongrel state of ours,
The rabble are the supreme powers,
That hors'd us on their backs, to show us
A jadish trick at last, and throw us.
The learned rabbins of the jews
Write, there's a bone, which they call luez,†

* Several sorts of flies, having their fore legs shorter than their hind legs, are generally seen at rest with their heads downward.

† Eben Ezra, and Manasseh Ben Israel, taught, that there is a bone in the rump of a man of the size and shape of half a pea; from which, as from an incorruptible seed, the whole man would be perfectly formed at the resurrection. Remains, vol. i. p. 320. The rabbins found their wild conjectures on Genesis, c. xlviii. v. 2 and 3, where Luz seems to mean the name of a place, not of a bone. "And Jacob said unto Joseph, God Al- "mighty appeared unto me at Luz, in the land of Canaan, and "blessed me, and said, Behold I will make thee fruitful, and "multiply thee, and I will make thee a multitude of people, "and will give this land to thy seed after thee for an everlasting "possession." See more, Agrippa de occultâ philosophiâ, l. i. c. 20. Buxtorf, in his Chaldean Dictionary, under the word Luz, says, it is the name of a human bone, which the Jews look upon as incorruptible. In a book called Breshith Rabboth, sect 28, it is said, that Adrian reducing the bones to powder, asked the rabbin Jehoshuang (Jesuah the son of Hanniah) how God would raise man at the day of judgment? from the Luz, replied the rabbin: how do you know it? says Adrian: bring me one and you shall see, says Jehoshuang; one was produced, and al methods, by fire, pounding, &c. tried, but in vain. (French note.) In the General Dictionary, art. Barchochebas, (or, the son of the star,) we read, that the Jewish authors suppose that Hadrian was in person in the war against the Jews, and that he besieged and took the city of Bitter, and that he then had this conference with the rabbi. See Manasse Ben-Israel de Resur- rectione, lib. ii. cap. 15.

I' th' rump of man, of such a virtue,
No force in nature can do hurt to;
And therefore, at the last great day,
All th' other members shall, they say,
Spring out of this, as from a seed
All sorts of vegetals proceed;
From whence the learned sons of art,
Os sacrum justly stile that part:*
Then what can better represent,
Than this rump bone, the parliament?
That after sev'ral rude ejections,
And as prodigious resurrections,
With new reversions of nine lives,
Starts up, and, like a cat, revives?†
But now alas! they 're all expir'd,
And th' house, as well as members, fir'd;

* The lowest of the vertebræ, or rather the bone below the vertebræ, is so called; not for the reason wittily assigned by our poet, but, as Bartholine says, because it is much bigger than any of the vertebræ,—vel quod partibus obscœnis, naturâ ipsâ occultatis, subjacet; sacrum enim execrabile; as in Virgil:

Auri sacra fames.

† The rump, properly so called, began at Colonel Pride's Purge above-mentioned, a little before the king's death; and had the supreme authority about five years. Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, &c., turned out the rump, April 23, 1653, and soon afterward Cromwell usurped the administration, and held it almost five years more. After Cromwell's death, and the deposition of his son Richard, the rump parliament was restored by Lambert and other officers of the army, the excluded members not being permitted to sit. They began their meeting May 7, 1659, in number about forty-two. On some animosities and quarrels between them and the army, they were prevented again from sitting, by Lambert and the officers, October 13, in the same year. After this, the officers chose a committee of safety of twenty-three persons. These administered the affairs of government till December 20, when, finding themselves generally hated and slighted, and wanting money to pay the soldiers, Fleetwood and the rest of them desired the rump to return to the exercise of their trust. At length, by means of General Monk, about eighty of the old secluded members resumed their places in the house; upon which most of the rumpers quitted it. Mr. Butler, in his Genuine Remains, vol. i. p. 320, says, "Nothing can bear a nearer "resemblance to the luz, or rump-bone of the ancient rabbins, "than the present parliament, that has been so many years "dead, and rotten under ground, to any man's thinking, that the "ghosts of some of the members thereof have transmigrated "into other parliaments, and some into those parts from whence "there is no redemption, should nevertheless, at two several and "respective resurrections start up, like the dragon's teeth that "were sown, into living, natural, and carnal members. And, "hence it is, I suppose, that the physicians and anatomists call "this bone os sacrum, or the holy bone."

Consum'd in kennels by the rout,
With which they other fires put out;
Condemn'd t' ungoverning distress,
And paltry private wretchedness;
Worse than the devil to privation,
Beyond all hopes of restoration;
And parted, like the body and soul,
From all dominion and controul.*
We who could lately, with a look,
Enact, establish, or revoke,
Whose arbitrary nods gave law,
And frowns kept multitudes in awe;
Before the bluster of whose huff,
All hats, as in a storm, flew off;
Ador'd and bow'd to by the great,
Down to the footman and valet;
Had more bent knees than chapel mats,
And prayers than the crowns of hats,
Shall now be scorn'd as wretchedly:
For ruin's just as low as high;
Which might be suffer'd, were it all
The horror that attends our fall:
For some of us have scores more large
Than heads and quarters can discharge;
And others, who, by restless scraping,
With public frauds, and private rapine,
Have mighty heaps of wealth amass'd,
Would gladly lay down all at last;
And, to be but undone, entail
Their vessels on perpetual jail,
And bless the devil to let them farms
Of forfeit souls, on no worse terms.
This said, a near and louder shout
Put all th' assembly to the rout,
Who now began t' out-run their fear,
As horses do, from those they bear;
But crowded on with so much haste,
Until they 'd block'd the passage fast,
And barricado'd it with haunches

* These lines paint well the hunger and thirst after power in ambitious minds. Aristotle's Politic. lib 3, relates the complaint of Jason, that when he had not empire, he was famished, for he knew not how to live as a private man. Commentators think Tiberius alluded to this saying in his rebuke to Agrippina, recorded by Tacitus, An. iv. 52, and Suetonius in Tiberio, cap. 53. "What, child, because you do not govern us all, do you "think yourself wronged?"

Of outward men, and bulks and paunches,
That with their shoulders strove to squeeze,
And rather save a crippled piece
Of all their crush'd and broken members,
Than have them grilly'd on the embers;
Still pressing on with heavy packs
Of one another on their backs,
The van guard could no longer bear
The charges of the forlorn rear,
But, borne down headlong by the rout,
Were trampled sorely under foot;
Yet nothing prov'd so formidable,
As th' horrid cook'ry of the rabble:
And fear, that keeps all feelings out,
As lesser pains are by the gout,
Reliev'd 'em with a fresh supply
Of rally'd force, enough to fly,
And beat a Tuscan running horse,
Whose jockey-rider is all spurs.*

* Races of this kind are practised both in the Corso at Rome and at Florence. At Rome, in the carnival, there are five or six horses trained on purpose for this diversion. They are drawn up abreast in the Piazza del Populo; and certain balls, with little sharp spikes, are hung along their rumps, which serve to spur them on as soon as they begin to run

PART III. CANTO III.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Knight and Squire's prodigious flight
To quit th' enchanted bow'r by night.
He plods to turn his amorous suit,
T' a plea in law, and prosecute:
Repairs to counsel, to advise
'Bout managing the enterprise;
But first resolves to try by letter,
And one more fair address, to get her.

HUDIBRAS.

CANTO III.*

Who would believe what strange bugbears
Mankind creates itself, of fears,
That spring, like fern, that insect weed,
Equivocally, without seed,†
And have no possible foundation,
But merely in th' imagination?
And yet can do more dreadful feats
Than hags, with all their imps and teats;
Make more bewitch and haunt themselves,
Than all their nurseries of elves.
For fear does things so like a witch,

* The Editor was much inclined to follow the plan of the French translator, and place this before the preceding canto; but he was afraid to alter the form which Butler himself had made choice of, especially as the poet had taken the pains to recapitulate and explain the foregoing adventure, and bring it back to the reader's memory.

† He calls it an insect weed, on the supposition of its being bred, as many insects were thought to be, not by the natural generation of their own kinds, but by the corruption of other substances, or the spontaneous fecundity of matter. This is called equivocal generation, in contradistinction to unequivocal, or that which is brought about by a natural succession and derivation, from an egg, a seed, or a root, of the same animal or vegetable. Plants of the cryptogamia class, ferns, mosses, flags, and funguses, have their seeds and flowers so small as not to be discernible; so that the ancients held them to be without seed. Pliny, in his Natural History, says, Filicis duo genera, nec florem habent, nec semen. (lib. xxvii. c. 9.) Mr. Durham says, the capsulas are hardly a quarter so big as a grain of sand, and yet may contain an hundred seeds. [Our ancestors, believing that this plant produced seed that was invisible, concluded that those who possessed the secret of wearing it about them would become likewise invisible. See Henry IV. Part I.

Gads. —— We steal us in a castle, cocksure; we have the *receipt of fern-seed*, we walk invisible.

Chamb. Nay, by my faith; I think, you are more beholden to the night ——]

'Tis hard t' unriddle which is which;
Sets up communities of senses,
To chop and change intelligences;
As Rosicrucian virtuosi's
Can see with ears, and hear with noses'*
And when they neither see nor hear,
Have more than both supply'd by fear,
That makes them in the dark see visions,
And hag themselves with apparitions,
And, when their eyes discover least,
Discern the subtlest objects best;
Do things not contrary alone,
To th' course of nature, but its own,†
The courage of the bravest daunt,
And turn poltroons as valiant:
For men as resolute appear
With too much, as too little fear;
And, when they 're out of hopes of flying,
Will run away from death, by dying;‡
Or turn again to stand it out,
And those they fled, like lions, rout.

* A banter on the marquis of Worcester's scantlings of inventions. Edmund Somerset, marquis of Worcester, published, in 1663, a century of the names and scantlings of such inventions, as, says he, "I can call to mind to have tried and perfected." The book is a mere table of contents, a list only of an hundred projects, mostly impossibilities; though he pretends to have discovered the art of performing all of them. How to make an unsinkable ship—how to sail against wind and tide—how to fly—how to use all the senses indifferently for each other, to talk by colors, and to read by the taste—how to converse by the jangling of bells out of tune, &c. &c. For an account of the marquis of Worcester, see Walpole's Catalogue of Noble Authors; and Collins's Peerage, article Beaufort, where is that most extraordinary patent which Charles the First granted to the marquis. Panurge, in Rabelais, says: que ses lunettes lui faisoient entendre beaucoup plus clair. Shakspeare, in his Midsummer Night's Dream, says, "He is gone to see a noise that he heard" "This is an art to teach men to see with their ears, and hear "with their eyes and noses, as it has been found true by expe-"rience and demonstration, if we may believe the history of the "Spaniard, that could see words, and swallow music by holding "the peg of a fiddle between his teeth, or him that could sing "his part backward at first sight, which those that were near "him might hear with their noses." Butler's Remains, vol. ii p. 245. Our poet probably means to ridicule Sir Kenelm Digby, and some treatises written by Dr. Bulwer, author of the Artificial Changeling.

† Suppose we read;

——— but *their* own.

‡ Hostem dum fugeret, se Fannius ipse peremit,
Hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriare, mori.
Mart. lib. 2, Ep. 80.

This Hudibras had prov'd too true,
Who, by the furies, left perdue,
And haunted with detachments, sent
From marshall Legion's regiment,*
Was by a fiend, as counterfeit,
Reliev'd and rescu'd with a cheat,
When nothing but himself, and fear,
Was both the imps and conjurer ;†
As by the rules o' th' virtuosi,
It follows in due form of poesie.
Disguis'd in all the masks of night,
We left our champion on his flight,
And blindman's buff, to grope his way,
In equal fear of night and day ;
Who took his dark and desp'rate course,
He knew no better than his horse ;
And by an unknown devil led,‡
He knew as little whither, fled,
He never was in greater need,
Nor less capacity of speed ;
Disabled, both in man and beast,
To fly and run away, his best :§
To keep the enemy, and fear,
From equal falling on his rear.
And though, with kicks and bangs he ply'd,
The further and the nearer side ;

* Dr. Grey supposes that Stephen Marshal, a famous preacher among the Presbyterians, is here intended. But the word marshal, I am inclined to think, denotes a title of office and rank, not the name of any particular man. Legion may, in this place, be used for the name of a leader, or captain of a company of devils, not the company itself. The meaning is, that the knight was haunted by a crew of devils, such as that in the Gospel, which claimed the name of Legion, because they were many; though it might be a devilish mortification to attend the sermons of Dr. Burgess and Stephen Marshal, who are said to have preached before the House of Commons for above seven hours without ceasing.

† The poet, with great wit, rallies the imaginary and groundless fears which possess some persons: and from whence proceed the tales of ghosts and apparitions, imps, conjurers, and witches. Tully says, nolite enim putare—eos qui aliquid impie sceleratèque commiserint, agitari et perterreri furiarum tædis ardentibus: sua quemque fraus, et suus terror maxime vexat: suum quemque scelus agitat, amentiaque afficit: suæ malæ cogitationes conscientiæque animi terrent. Hæ sunt impiis assiduæ domesticæque furiæ. Pro S. Roscio, cap. xxiv. The same thought may be found in the Athenian orator, Æschines.

‡ It was Ralpho who conveyed the knight out of the widow's house, though unknown.

§ That is, to do his best at flying and running away, in order to keep the enemy, and fear, from falling equally on his rear.

As seamen ride with all their force,
And tug as if they row'd the horse,
And when the hackney sails most swift,
Believe they lag, or run a-drift;
So, tho' he posted e'er so fast,
His fear was greater than his haste:
For fear, though fleeter than the wind,
Believes 'tis always left behind.
But when the morn began t' appear,
And shift t' another scene his fear,
He found his new officious shade,
That came so timely to his aid,
And forc'd him from the foe t' escape,
Had turn'd itself to Ralpho's shape,
So like in person, garb, and pitch,
'Twas hard t' interpret which was which.
For Ralpho had no sooner told
The lady all he had t' unfold,
But she convey'd him out of sight,
To entertain th' approaching Knight;
And while he gave himself diversion,
T' accommodate his beast and person,
And put his beard into a posture
At best advantage to accost her,
She order'd th' anti-masquerade,
For his reception, aforesaid:
But, when the ceremony was done,
The lights put out, the furies gone,
And Hudibras, among the rest,
Convey'd away, as Ralpho guess'd;*
The wretched caitiff, all alone,
As he believ'd, began to moan,
And tell his story to himself,
The Knight mistook him for an elf;
And did so still, till he began
To scruple at Ralph's outward man,
And thought, because they oft' agreed
T' appear in one another's stead,
And act the saint's and devil's part,
With undistinguishable art,
They might have done so now, perhaps,

* It is here said that Ralpho guessed his master was conveyed away, and that he believed himself to be all alone when he had made his lamentation: but this seems to be a slip of memory in the poet, for some parts of his lamentations are not at all applicable to his own case, but plainly designed for his master's hearing: such are v. 1371, &c. of Part iii. c. i.

And put on one another's shapes ;
And therefore, to resolve the doubt,
He star'd upon him, and cry'd out,
What art? my Squire, or that bold sprite
That took his place and shape to-night?*
Some busy independent pug,
Retainer to his synagogue?
Alas! quoth he, I'm none of those
Your bosom friends, as you suppose,
But Ralph himself, your trusty Squire,
Who 'as dragg'd your donship out o' the mire,†
And from th' enchantments of a widow,
Who 'ad turn'd you int' a beast, have freed you ;
And, tho' a prisoner of war,
Have brought you safe, where now you are ;
Which you wou'd gratefully repay,
Your constant presbyterian way.‡
That's stranger, quoth the Knight, and stranger,
Who gave thee notice of my danger ;
Quoth he, Th' infernal conjurer
Pursu'd, and took me prisoner ;
And, knowing you were hereabout,
Brought me along to find you out.
Where I, in hugger-mugger hid,§
Have noted all they said or did :
And, tho' they lay to him the pageant,
I did not see him nor his agent ;
Who play'd their sorceries out of sight,
T' avoid a fiercer second fight.
But didst thou see no devils then?
Not one, quoth, he, but carnal men,
A little worse than fiends in hell,
And that she-devil Jezebel,
That laugh'd and tee-he'd with derision
To see them take your deposition.

* Sir Hudibras, we may remember, though he had no objection to consult with evil spirits, did not speak of them with much respect.

† The word don is often used to signify a knight.

‡ The poet still preserves the wrangling temper of the dissenting brethren.

§ Thus Shakspeare, in Hamlet: "We have done but greenly "in *hugger-mugger* to inter him, poor Ophelia." "All the mod "ern editions," says Dr. Johnson, "give it, *in private*; if phrase- "ology is to be changed, as words grow uncouth by disuse, or "gross by vulgarity, the history of every language will be lost; "we shall no longer have the words of any author, and as these "alterations will often be unskilfully made, we shall in time "have very little of his meaning."

What then, quoth Hudibras, was he
That play'd the dev'l to examine me?
A rallying weaver in the town,*
That did it in a parson's gown,
Whom all the parish take for gifted,
But, for my part, I ne'er believ'd it:
In which you told them all your feats,
Your conscientious frauds and cheats;
Deny'd your whipping, and confess'd,†

---

* This line should begin a new paragraph, as it belongs to a new and different speaker.

† It has been supposed that the person here meant was Williams, bishop of Lincoln, afterwards archbishop of York. Some of his tracts seem to apologize for the dissenters.—Letter to the Vicar of Grantham.—And Holy Table, name and thing; against placing the communion-table at the east end of the chancel, and setting rails before it. He delivered the town and castle of Conwy* to the parliament, and had a private conference with Prynne and others: was certainly a violent opponent of Laud, and for some time a favorite with the dissenters. Perhaps his great passion, pride, and vanity, failings, as my worthy friend Mr. Pennant says, (Tour in Wales, vol. ii. p. 295,) to which his countrymen are often subject, might have occasioned him to espouse the interest of the dissenters, in order to show his resentment to Laud and Wren. In the same spirit he is thought to have delivered Conwy to General Mytton, because he had been superseded in the custody of that place by Prince Rupert. In the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1789, is a letter from Oliver Cromwell to Archbishop Williams, from which it appears that there was a good understanding between them. The date is September 1, 1647. Others have imagined that this passage alludes to Graham, bishop of Orkney, or Adair, bishop of Kilala. In Keith's Lives of the Scottish Bishops, the former, we read, was translated from Dunblane to Orkney; which see he held from 1615 to 1638. He was very rich, and being threatened by the assembly of Glasgow, he renounced his episcopal function; and in a letter to that assembly declared his unfeigned sorrow and grief for having exercised so sinful an office in the church. In the Catalogue of the Bishops of Scotland to 1688, Edin. 1755, occurs Alexander Lindsay, who continued in the see of Dunkeld till 1638, when he renounced his office, abjured episcopacy, submitted to Presbyterian parity, and accepted from the then rulers his former church of St. Mado's. In the opinion of others this reflection was designed for Croft, bishop of Hereford; who, though he could not have been directly intended by the squire, might, perhaps, be obliquely glanced at by the poet. In 1675, two or three years before the publication of this part of the poem, came out a pamphlet by an anonymous writer, but generally attributed to the bishop of Hereford, called, *The naked Truth*, a title which gives a striking air of probability to the supposition. In this piece the distinction of the three orders of the church is flatly denied, and endeavored to be disproved: the surplice, bowing towards the altar, kneeling at the sacrament, and other ceremonies of the church are condemned; while most of the pleas for non

* Conwy signifies the first or chief of waters

The naked truth of all the rest,
More plainly than the rev'rend writer
That to our churches veil'd his miter;
All which they took in black and white,
And cudgell'd me to underwrite.
What made thee, when they all were gone,
And none but thou and I alone,
To act the devil, and forbear
To rid me of my hellish fear?
Quoth he, I knew your constant rate,
And frame of sp'rit too obstinate,
To be by me prevail'd upon,
With any motives of my own;
And therefore strove to counterfeit
The dev'l awhile, to nick your wit;
The devil that is your constant crony,
That only can prevail upon ye;
Else we might still have been disputing,
And they with weighty drubs confuting.
The Knight, who now began to find
They 'd left the enemy behind,
And saw no further harm remain,
But feeble weariness and pain,
Perceiv'd, by losing of their way,
They 'ad gain'd th' advantage of the day,
And, by declining of the road,
They had, by chance, their rear made good;
He ventur'd to dismiss his fear,
That parting's wont to rant and tear,
And give the desp'ratest attack
To danger still behind its back:
For having paus'd to recollect,
And on his past success reflect,
T' examine and consider why,
And whence, and how, he came to fly,
And when no devil had appear'd,
What else it could be said he fear'd,
It put him in so fierce a rage,
He once resolv'd to re-engage;
Toss'd, like a foot-ball, back again

---

conformists are speciously and zealously supported. This pamphlet fell not within the compass of time comprised in the poem; but Mr. Butler might think proper to hint at it, because it made a great noise, and was much talked of. Andrew Marvell, in his Rehearsal Transprosed, says, it is written with the pen of an angel.

With shame, and vengeance, and disdain.*
Quoth he, It was thy cowardice,
That made me from this leaguer rise,
And when I'd half reduc'd the place,
To quit it infamously base,
Was better cover'd by the new
Arriv'd detachment, than I knew ;†
To slight my new acquests, and run,
Victoriously, from battles won ;
And, reck'ning all I gain'd or lost,
To sell them cheaper than they cost ,
To make me put myself to flight,
And, conqu'ring, run away by night ;
To drag me out, which th' haughty foe
Durst never have presum'd to do ;
To mount me in the dark, by force,
Upon the bare ridge of my horse,
Expos'd in querpo to their rage,
Without my arms and equipage ;‡
Lest, if they ventur'd to pursue,
I might th' unequal fight renew ;
And, to preserve my outward man,
Assum'd my place, and led the van.
All this, quoth Ralph, I did, 'tis true,
Not to preserve myself, but you :
You, who were damn'd to baser drubs
Than wretches feel in powd'ring tubs,§

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* —— æstuat ingens
Uno in corde pudor, mixtoque insania luctu,
Et furiis agitatus amor, et conscia virtus.
Æneis x. 870.

† Here seems a defect in coherency and syntax. The Knight means, that it was dishonorable in him to quit the siege, especially when reinforced by the arrival of the Squire.

‡ *Querpo*, from the Spanish cuerpo, corpus, here signifies a waistcoat, or close jacket. Butler, in MS. Common-place book, says, all coats of arms were defensive, and worn upon shields ; though the ancient use of them is now given over, and men fight in querpo. See Junii Etymolog. to fight in buff. ["Boy, my "cloak and rapier ; it fits not a gentleman of my rank to walk the streets *in querpo*." Beaumont and Fletcher.—Love's Cure ii. 1.]

§ The poet often leaves room for various conjectures. Critics, to explain this passage, have thought of the Dutch punishment of pumping : of the Salpetriere prison at Paris : of the martyrs ground in a mill : but I believe it alludes to the old method of attempting to cure the venereal disease by sudorifics, mentioned under the words sweating-lanthorns—to preserve you from the blows or pains (the cause for the effect) more severe than those which venereal patients suffer by the awkward attempt to cure, before the use of mercury, which was not much known before

To mount two-wheel'd carroches, worse
Than managing a wooden horse ;*
Dragg'd out thro' straiter holes by th' ears,
Eras'd or coup'd for perjurers ;†
Who, tho' th' attempt had prov'd in vain,
Had had no reason to complain ;
But, since it prosper'd, 'tis unhandsome
To blame the hand that paid your ransom,
And rescu'd your obnoxious bones
From unavoidable battoons.
The enemy was reinforc'd,
And we disabled and unhors'd,
Disarm'd, unqualify'd for fight,
And no way left but hasty flight,
Which, tho' as desp'rate in th' attempt,‡
Has giv'n you freedom to condemn 't.
But were our bones in fit condition
To reinforce the expedition,
'Tis now unseasonable and vain,
To think of falling on again :
No martial project to surprise

---

the restoration : Butler is so loose in his grammatical construction, that powdering may allude to drubs, and signify violent, as at v. 1055 of this canto :

> Laid on in haste with such a powder,
> That blows grew louder and still louder.

The preacher's pulpit is often called a tub, and sometimes a sweating-tub, from the violence of action when the preacher thumped the cushion like a drum. In a ballad falsely ascribed to Butler, called Oliver's Court, Posthumous Works, vol. ii. p. 240 :

> If it be one of the *eating* tribe,
> Both a pharisee and a scribe,
> And hath learn'd the sniveling tone
> Of a fluxt devotion,
> Cursing from his *sweating-tub*.

Perhaps it would be better, if in the first line we read, canting tribe. See P. ii. c. iii. v. 759, note.

* Carroche properly signifies coach, from the French carrosse ; but in burlesque it is a cart, particularly that in which convicts are carried to execution. Riding the wooden-horse was a punishment inflicted on soldiers. That is, you who was damned, or condemned to be dragged, &c.

† Erased, in heraldry, is when a member seems forcibly torn, or plucked off from the body, so that it looked jagged like the teeth of a saw ; it is used in contradistinction to couped, which signifies a thing cut off clean and smooth. Set in the pillory, and couped, from the French coupé, cropped. The knight had incurred the guilt of perjury.

‡ Suppose we read :

> Which, tho' '*twas* desp'rate——

Can ever be attempted twice ;*
Nor cast design serve afterwards,
As gamesters tear their losing cards.
Beside, our bangs of man and beast
Are fit for nothing now but rest,
And for a while will not be able
To rally and prove serviceable:
And therefore I, with reason, chose
This stratagem t' amuse our foes,
To make an hon'rable retreat,
And wave a total sure defeat:
For those that fly may fight again,
Which he can never do that 's slain.†
Hence timely running 's no mean part
Of conduct, in the martial art,
By which some glorious feats achieve,
As citizens by breaking thrive,
And cannons conquer armies, while
They seem to draw off and recoil;
Is held the gallant'st course, and bravest,‡
To great exploits, as well as safest;
That spares th' expense of time and pains,
And dang'rous beating out of brains;
And, in the end, prevails as certain
As those that never trust to fortune;
But make their fear do execution
Beyond the stoutest resolution;
As earthquakes kill without a blow,
And, only trembling, overthrow.

* A coup de main, or project of taking by surprise, if it does not succeed at first, ought not to be persevered in. Non licet bis peccare, is a known military maxim.

† Demosthenes justified his flight from the battle of Chæronea by the same argument.

Ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται.

It is an iambic from some poet, Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. lib 17. 21. Dr. Jortin, in his Tracts, would read,

Ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν γὲ φεύξεται.

He who has an inclination to read more concerning this Senarius proverbialis quo monemur non protinus abjicere animum, siquid parum feliciter successerit, nam victos posse vincere: proinde Homerus, &c., may consult Erasm. Adagia.—The Satyre Menippée has the idea thus expressed:

Souvent celuy qui demeure
Est cause de son meschef,
Celuy qui fuit de bonne heure
Peut combattre derechef.

‡ In some editions we read:

'*Tis* held the gallant'st——

If th' ancients crown'd their bravest men
That only sav'd a citizen,
What victory cou'd e'er be won,
If ev'ry one would save but one?
Or fight endanger'd to be lost,
Were all resolve to save the most?
By this means, when a battle's won,
The war's as far from being done;
For those that save themselves and fly,
Go halves, at least, i' th' victory;
And sometime, when the loss is small,
And danger great, they challenge all;
Print new additions to their feats,
And emendations in gazettes;
And when, for furious haste to run,
They durst not stay to fire a gun,
Have done 't with bonfires, and at home
Made squibs and crackers overcome;
To set the rabble on a flame,
And keep their governors from blame,
Disperse the news the pulpit tells,*
Confirm'd with fire-works and with bells:
And tho' reduc'd to that extreme,
They have been forc'd to sing Te Deum;
Yet, with religious blasphemy,
By flattering heav'n with a lie;
And, for their beating, giving thanks,
They 've rais'd recruits, and fill'd their ranks;†

* "In their sermons," says Burnet, "and chiefly in their "prayers, all that passed in the state was canvassed. Men were "as good as named, and either recommended or complained of to "God, as they were odious or acceptable to them. At length "this humor grew so petulant, that the pulpit was a scene of "news and passion."

† It has been an ancient and very frequent practice for the vanquished party in war to boast of victory, and even to ordain solemn thanksgivings, as means of keeping up the spirits of the people. The parliament often had recourse to this artifice, and in the course of the war had thirty-five thanksgiving days. In the first notable encounter, at Wickfield near Worcester, September 23, 1642, their forces received a total defeat. Whitelock says, they were all killed or routed, and only one man lost on the king's side. Yet the parliamentarians spread about printed papers bragging of it as a complete victory, and ordained a special thanksgiving in London. This they did after the battle of Keynton, and the second fight at Newbery; but particularly when Sir William Waller received that great defeat at Roundway-down, they kept a thanksgiving at Gloucester, and made rejoicings for a signal victory, which they pretended he had gained for them. This was no new practice. See Polyæni Stratagem, lib. i. cap. 35, and 44.—Stratocles persuaded the Athenians to

For those who run from th' enemy,
Engage them equally to fly;
And when the fight becomes a chace,
Those win the day that win the race;*
And that which would not pass in fights,
Has done the feat with easy flights;†
Recover'd many a desp'rate campaign
With Bourdeaux, Burgundy, and Champaign;
Restor'd the fainting high and mighty,
With brandy-wine, and aquavitæ;
And made them stoutly overcome
With bacrack, hoccamore and mum;‡
Whom th' uncontroll'd decrees of fate
To victory necessitate;
With which, altho' they run or burn,§
They unavoidably return;
Or else their sultan populaces
Still strangle all their routed bassas.‖
Quoth Hudibras, I understand
What fights thou mean'st at sea and land,
And who those were that run away,
And yet gave out th' had won the day;¶

offer a sacrifice to the gods, by way of thanks, on account of their having defeated their enemies, and yet he knew that the Athenian fleet had been defeated. When the truth was known, and the people exasperated, his reply was, "What injury have "I done you? it is owing to me that you have spent three days "in joy."—Catherine of Medicis was used to say, that a false report, if believed for three days, might save a state.—See many stories of the same kind in the General Dictionary, vol. x. p. 337.

* An old philosopher, at a drinking match, insisted that he had won the prize because he was first drunk.

† Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit.

‡ The first is an excellent kind of Rhenish wine, so called from a town of that name in the lower Palatinate. [Bacharach. Henry Stephens preferred this wine to every other.] Heylin derived the name of bacrack from Bacchi ara. [It was an ancient tradition.] Hoccamore is what we call old hock. Mum is a liquor used in Germany, and made, as I am told, from wheat malted.

§ That is, though they run away, or their ships are fired. See v. 308.

‖ The mob, like the sultan or grand seignior, seldom fail to strangle any of their commanders, called bassas, if they prove unsuccessful. Thus Waller was neglected after the battle of Roundaway-down, called by the wits Runaway-down.

¶ The poet might farther have illustrated this subject, if he had known the contents of an essay lately published by Mr. Maclaurin, to prove that Troy really was not taken by the Greeks. See the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh: this whim is as old as Dio Chrysostom, who wrote an elaborate tract, still extant, to demonstrate his Paradox.

Although the rabble sous'd them for 't,
O'er head and ears, in mud and dirt.
'Tis true our modern way of war
Is grown more politic by far,*
But not so resolute and bold,
Nor ty'd to honour, as the old.
For now they laugh at giving battle,
Unless it be to herds of cattle;
Or fighting convoys of provision,
The whole design o' th' expedition,
And not with downright blows to rout
The enemy, but eat them out:
As fighting, in all beasts of prey,
And eating, are perform'd one way,
To give defiance to their teeth,
And fight their stubborn guts to death;
And those achieve the high'st renown,
That bring the other stomachs down.
There's now no fear of wounds nor maiming,
All dangers are reduc'd to famine,
And feats of arms to plot, design,
Surprise, and stratagem, and mine:
But have no need nor use of courage,
Unless it be for glory, or forage:
For if they fight 'tis but by chance,
When one side vent'ring to advance,
And come uncivilly too near,
Are charg'd unmercifully i' th' rear,
And forc'd, with terrible resistance,
To keep hereafter at a distance,

* Mr. Butler's MS. Common-place book has the following lines:

For fighting now is out of mode,
And stratagem's the only road;
Unless in th' out-of fashion wars,
Of barb'rous Turks and Polanders.
All feats of arms are now reduc'd
To chousing, or to being chous'd;
They fight not now to overthrow,
But gall or circumvent a foe.
And watch all small advantages
As if they fought a game at chess;
And he's approv'd the most deserving
Who longest can hold out at starving.
Who makes best fricasees of cats,
Of frogs and ——, and mice and rats;
Pottage of vermin, and ragoos
Of trunks and boxes, and old shoes.
And those who, like th' immortal gods,
Do never eat, have still the odds.

To pick out ground t' encamp upon,
Where store of largest rivers run,
That serve, instead of peaceful barriers,
To part th' engagements of their warriors;
Where both from side to side may skip,
And only encounter at bo-peep:
For men are found the stouter-hearted,
The certainer they're to be parted,
And therefore post themselves in bogs,
As th' ancient mice attack'd the frogs,*
And made their mortal enemy,
The water-rat, their strict ally.†
For 'tis not now, who's stout and bold?
But, who bears hunger best, and cold?‡
And he's approv'd the most deserving,
Who longest can hold out at starving;
And he that routs most pigs and cows,
The formidablest man of prowess.§
So th' emperor Caligula,
That triumph'd o'er the British sea,‖
Took crabs and oysters prisoners,
And lobsters, 'stead of cuirassiers,¶
Engag'd his legions in fierce bustles
With periwinkles, prawns, and muscles,
And led his troops with furious gallops,

* Alluding to the poem on the battle between the Mice and the Frogs attributed to Homer.

† The Dutch, who seemed to favor the parliamentarians.

‡ An ordinance was passed March 26, 1644, for the contribution of one meal a week toward the charge of the army.

§ A sneer, perhaps, on Venables and Pen, who were unfortunate in their expedition against the Spaniards at St. Domingo, in the year 1655. It is observed of them, that they exercised their valor only on horses, asses, and such like, making a slaughter of all they met, greedily devouring skins, entrails, and all, to satiate their hunger. See Harleian Miscellany, vol. iii. No. xii. pp. 494, 498.

‖ Caligula, having ranged his army on the sea-shore, and disposed his instruments of war as if he was just going to engage, while every one wondered what he designed to do, on a sudden ordered his men to gather up the shells on the strand, and to fill their helmets and their bosoms with them, calling them the spoils of the conquered ocean. Suetonius in vita Caligulæ.

¶ Sir Arthur Hazelrig had a regiment called his lobsters; it has been thought by some, that the defeat at Roundaway-down was owing to the ill-behavior of this regiment. Cleveland, in his character of a London diurnal, says, "This is the William "which is the city's champion, and the diurnal's delight. Yet "in all this triumph, translate the scene but to Roundaway-"down, there Hazelrig's lobsters were turned into crabs, and crawled backwards."

To charge whole regiments of scallops ;
Not like their ancient way of war,
To wait on his triumphal car ;
But when he went to dine or sup,
More bravely ate his captives up,
And left all war, by his example,
Reduc'd to vict'ling of a camp well.
Quoth Ralph, By all that you have said,
And twice as much that I cou'd add,
'Tis plain you cannot now do worse
Than take this out-of-fashion'd course ;
To hope, by stratagem, to woo her,
Or waging battle to subdue her ;
Tho' some have done it in romances,
And bang'd them into am'rous fancies ;
As those who won the Amazons,
By wanton drubbing of their bones ;
And stout Rinaldo gain'd his bride*
By courting of her back and side.
But since those times and feats are over,
They are not for a modern lover,
When mistresses are too cross-grain'd,
By such addresses to be gain'd ;
And if they were, would have it out
With many another kind of bout.
Therefore I hold no course s' infeasible,
As this of force, to win the Jezebel,
To storm her heart by th' antic charms
Of ladies errant, force of arms ;
But rather strive by law to win her,
And try the title you have in her.
Your case is clear, you have her word,
And me to witness the accord ;†
Besides two more of her retinue
To testify what pass'd between you ;
More probable, and like to hold,
Than hand, or seal, or breaking gold,‡
For which so many that renounc'd
Their plighted contracts have been trounc'd,

* See the interview between Rinaldo and Armida, in the last book of Tasso. Or perhaps the poet, quoting by memory, mistook the name, and intended to have mentioned Ruggiero in Ariosto.

† Ralpho, no doubt, was ready to witness any thing that would serve his turn; and hoped the widow's two attendants would do the same.

‡ See note on P. ii. c. i. l. 585.

And bills upon record been found,
That forc'd the ladies to compound;
And that, unless I miss the matter,
Is all the business you look after.
Besides, encounters at the bar
Are braver now than those in war,
In which the law does execution,
With less disorder and confusion;
Has more of honour in 't, some hold,
Not like the new way, but the old,*
When those the pen had drawn together,†
Decided quarrels with the feather,
And winged arrows kill'd as dead,
And more than bullets now of lead:‡
So all their combats now, as then,
Are manag'd chiefly by the pen;
That does the feat, with brave vigours,
In words at length, as well as figures;
Is judge of all the world performs
In voluntary feats of arms,
And whatsoe'r 's atchiev'd in fight,
Determines which is wrong or right;
For whether you prevail, or lose,
All must be try'd there in the close;§
And therefore 'tis not wise to shun
What you must trust to ere ye 've done.
The law that settles all you do,
And marries where you did but woo;
That makes the most perfidious lover,
A lady, that's as false, recover;‖
And if it judge upon your side,

* The poet's ideas crowd so fast upon him, that he is not always quite intelligible at first reading. Ralpho persuades the knight to gain the widow, at least her fortune, not by the fire-arms now in use, but by law; the feathered arrow of the lawyer.

† Does he mean those whom written challenges had brought to fight? or does he allude to the Latin phrase for enlisting: conscripti milites, conscribere exercitus?

‡ Bishop Wilkins (Mathem. Magic.) maintains, that the engines of the ancients, balistæ and catapultæ, did more execution, and were far more portable, than cannon. See likewise Sir Clement Edmonds's judicious observations upon Cæsar's Commentaries. Battles in ancient times seem to have been attended with more casualties than since the invention of gunpowder.

§ Ralpho goes on to extol the energy of the pen, which, in the hand of the historian, can control even the most warlike efforts.

‖ That is, the law will recover a lady that is as false as the most perfidious lover

Will soon extend her for your bride,*
And put her person, goods, or lands,
Or which you like best, int' your hands.
For law's the wisdom of all ages,
And manag'd by the ablest sages,
Who, tho' their bus'ness at the bar
Be but a kind of civil war,
In which th' engage with fiercer dudgeons
Than e'er the Grecians did, and Trojans;
They never manage the contest
T' impair their public interest,
Or by their controversies lessen
The dignity of their profession:
Not like us brethren, who divide
Our commonwealth, the cause, and side;†
And tho' we're all as near of kindred
As th' outward man is to the inward,
We agree in nothing, but to wrangle
About the slightest fingle-fangle,
While lawyers have more sober sense,
Than t' argue at their own expense,‡
But make their best advantages
Of others' quarrels, like the Swiss;§
And out of foreign controversies,
By aiding both sides, fill their purses;
But have no int'rest in the cause
For which th' engage, and wage the laws
Nor further prospect than their pay,
Whether they lose or win the day.
And tho' th' abounded in all ages,
With sundry learned clerks and sages;
Tho' all their bus'ness be dispute,
Which way they canvass ev'ry suit,
They 've no disputes about their art,

* Lay an extent upon her; seize her for your use.

† Take part on one side or the other. Whereas we who have a common interest, a common cause, a common party against the royalists and Episcopalians, weaken our strength by internal divisions among ourselves.

‡ The wisdom of lawyers is such, that however they may seem to quarrel at the bar, yet they are good friends the moment they leave the court. Unlike us, Independents and Presbyterians, who, though our opinions are very similar, are always wrangling about the merest trifles.

§ The Swiss, if they are well paid, will enter into the service of any foreign power: but, point d'argent, point de Suisse. An old distich says:

Theologis animam subjecit lapsus Adami
Et corpus medicis, et bona juridicis.

Nor in polemics controvert;
While all professions else are found
With nothing but disputes t' abound:
Divines of all sorts, and physicians,
Philosophers, mathematicians;
The Galenist, and Paracelsian,
Condemn the way each other deals in,*
Anatomists dissect and mangle,
To cut themselves out work to wrangle;
Astrologers dispute their dreams,
That in their sleeps they talk of schemes;
And heralds stickle, who got who,
So many hundred years ago.
But lawyers are too wise a nation
T' expose their trade to disputation,
Or make their busy rabble judges
Of all their secret piques and grudges;
In which, whoever wins the day,
The whole profession's sure to pay.†
Beside, no mountebanks, nor cheats,
Dare undertake to do their feats,
When in all other sciences
They swarm like insects, and increase.
For what bigot durst ever draw,‡
By inward light, a deed in law?
Or could hold forth by revelation,
An answer to a declaration?
For those that meddle with their tools,
Will cut their fingers, if they 're fools:
And if you follow their advice,
In bills, and answers, and replies,
They'll write a love-letter in chancery,
Shall bring her upon oath to answer ye,
And soon reduce her to b' your wife,
Or make her weary of her life.
The Knight, who us'd with tricks and shifts
To edify by Ralpho's gifts,
But in appearance cry'd him down,§
To make them better seem his own,

* The followers of Galen were advocates for the virtues and use of plants; the disciples of Paracelsus recommended chemical preparations.

† That is, whoever wins is sure to pay the whole profession; or rather, whether sergeant A or counsellor B be more successful in abusing each other, the whole profession of the law is disgraced by their scurrilities.

‡ The accent is here laid on the last syllable of bigot.

§ Perhaps a better reading would be,—cry'd *'em* down.

All plagiaries' constant course
Of sinking when they take a purse,* 510
Resolv'd to follow his advice,
But kept it from him by disguise;
And, after stubborn contradiction,
To counterfeit his own conviction,
And, by transition, fall upon 515
The resolution as his own.†
Quoth he, This gambol thou advisest
Is, of all others, the unwisest;
For, if I think by law to gain her,
There's nothing sillier, nor vainer. 520
'Tis but to hazard my pretence,
Where nothing's certain but th' expence;
To act against myself, and traverse
My suit and title to her favours;
And if she should, which heav'n forbid, 525
O'erthrow me, as the fiddler did,
What after-course have I to take,
'Gainst losing all I have at stake?
He that with injury is griev'd,
And goes to law to be reliev'd, 530
Is sillier than a sottish chouse,
Who, when a thief has robb'd his house,
Applies himself to cunning men,
To help him to his goods agen;‡

---

* Such as steal out of other men's works, and abuse the authors they are beholden to, are like highwaymen, who abuse those whom they rob. Or perhaps sinking may mean stooping, or diving with the hand to reach a person's pocket. Pickpockets in partnership may be apt to *sink* or conceal part of the booty from their companions. But I must refer to the Bow-street Vocabulary. [The meaning is simply the plagiarist conceals his robbery as the pickpocket does his.]

† Dr. Thomas Burnet says, Libentius auscultamus rationibus et argumentis a nobis ipsis inventis, quàm ab aliis propositis; ut, cum sententiam mutamus, non tam ab aliis victi, quam a nobismet ipsis edocti, id fecisse videamur.

‡ The misfortunes of too many will incline them to subscribe to the truth of this excellent observation. The word chews, or chouse, is derived either from the French, *gausser*, to cheat or laugh at, or from the Italian, *gaffo*, a fool. In Mr. Butler's MS. under these lines, are many severe strictures on lawyers.

More nice and subtle than those wire-drawers
Of equity and justice, common lawyers;
Who never end, but always prune a suit
To make it bear the greater store of fruit.

As laboring men their hands, criers their lungs,
Porters their backs, lawyers hire out their tongues.
A tongue to mire and gain accustomed long,
Grows quite insensible to right or wrong.

When all he can expect to gain,
Is but to squander more in vain:
And yet I have no other way,
But is as difficult to play:
For to reduce her by main force
Is now in vain; by fair means, worse;
But worst of all to give her over,
'Till she's as desp'rate to recover:
For bad games are thrown up too soon,
Until they 're never to be won;
But since I have no other course,
But is as bad t' attempt, or worse,
He that complies against his will,
Is of his own opinion still,
Which he may adhere to, yet disown,
For reasons to himself best known;
But 'tis not to b' avoided now,
For Sidrophel resolves to sue;
Whom I must answer, or begin,
Inevitably, first with him;
For I've receiv'd advertisement,
By times enough, of his intent;
And knowing he that first complains
Th' advantage of the bus'ness gains;
For courts of justice understand
The plaintiff to be eldest hand;
Who what he pleases may aver,
The other nothing till he swear;*
Is freely admitted to all grace,
And lawful favour, by his place;
And, for his bringing custom in,
Has all advantages to win:
I, who resolve to oversee
No lucky opportunity,
Will go to council, to advise
Which way t' encounter, or surprise,
And after long consideration,
Have found out one to fit th' occasion,
Most apt for what I have to do,
As counsellor, and justice too.†

The humorist that would have had a trial
With one that did but look upon his dial,
And sued him but for telling of his clock,
And saying, 'twas too fast, or slow it struck.

* An answer to a bill of chancery is always upon oath;—a petition not so.

† It is probable that the poet had an eye to some particular

And truly so, no doubt, he was,
A lawyer fit for such a case.
An old dull sot, who told the clock,*
For many years at Bridewell-dock,
At Westminster, and Hicks's-hall,
And hiccius doctius† play'd in all;
Where, in all governments and times,
He 'ad been both friend and foe to crimes,
And us'd two equal ways of gaining,
By hind'ring justice, or maintaining,‡
To many a whore gave privilege,
And whipp'd, for want of quarterage;
Cart-loads of bawds to prison sent,
For b'ing behind a fortnight's rent;
And many a trusty pimp and crony
To Pudddle-dock, for want of money
Engag'd the constables to seize
All those that wou'd not break the peace;
Nor give him back his own foul words,
Though sometimes commoners, or lords,
And kept 'em prisoners of course,
For being sober at ill hours;
That in the morning he might free
Or bind 'em over for his fee.
Made monsters fine, and puppet-plays,
For leave to practice in their ways;
Farm'd out all cheats, and went a share
With th' headborough and scavenger;
And made the dirt i' th' streets compound,
For taking up the public ground;§

---

person in this character. The old annotator says it was one Prideaux; but gives no further account of him. One of that name was attorney-general to the rump, and commissioner of the great seal. He died August 19, in the last year of their reign. Tillotson lived in his family. See Birch's Life of the Archbishop, p. 14. He cannot have been here meant. The poet, I imagine, alludes to some one of a much lower class. See the character of a justice in Butler's Genuine Remains, vol. ii. p. 190.

* The puisne judge was formerly called the Tell-clock; as supposed to be not much employed with business in the courts he sat in, but listening how the time went.

† Cant words used by jugglers, corrupted perhaps from hic est doctior.

‡ Mr. Butler served some years as a clerk to a justice. The person who employed him was an able magistrate, and respectable character: but in that situation he might have had an opportunity of making himself acquainted with the practice of trading justices.

§ Did not levy the penalty for a nuisance, but took a composition in private.

The kennel, and the king's high way.
For being unmolested, pay;
Let out the stocks and whipping-post,
And cage, to those that gave him most;
Impos'd a tax on bakers' ears,*
And for false weights on chandelers;
Made victuallers and vintners fine
For arbitrary ale and wine:†
But was a kind and constant friend
To all that regularly offend:
As residentiary bawds,
And brokers that receive stol'n goods;
That cheat in lawful mysteries,
And pay church-duties, and his fees;
But was implacable and awkward,
To all that interlop'd and hawker'd.‡
To this brave man the Knight repairs
For counsel in his law-affairs,
And found him mounted in his pew,
With books and money plac'd for shew,
Like nest-eggs to make clients lay,
And for his false opinion pay:
To whom the Knight, with comely grace,
Put off his hat to put his case;
Which he as proudly entertain'd,
As th' other courteously strain'd;
And, to assure him 'twas not that
He look'd for, bid him put on's hat.
Quoth he, There is one Sidrophel
Whom I have cudgell'd—Very well—
And now he brags to have beaten me—
Better and better still, quoth he—
And vows to stick me to the wall,
Where'er he meets me—Best of all.

* That is, commuted the pillory for a mulct at his own discretion. Libanius has an entire oration against an arbitrary law of the magistrates of Antioch, which obliged the country bakers, when they brought bread into the city for sale, to load back with rubbish.

† For selling ale or wine without license, or by less than the statutable measure. So Mr. Butler says of his justice, Remains, vol. ii. p. 191. "He does his country signal service in the judi-"cious and mature legitimation of tippling-houses; that the sub-"ject be not imposed upon with illegal and *arbitrary* ale."

‡ Travelling dealers, who did not keep any regular shop. "He is very severe to hawkers and interlopers, who commit "iniquity on the bye." See Remains, where the reader may find other strokes of character similar to those here mentioned.

'Tis true the knave has taken 's oath
That I robb'd him—Well done, in troth.
When he 'as confess'd he stole my cloak,
And pick'd my fob, and what he took;
Which was the cause that made me bang him,
And take my goods again—Marry,* hang him.
Now, whether I should before-hand,
Swear he robb'd me?—I understand,
Or bring my action of conversion
And trover for my goods?†—Ah, whoreson!
Or, if 'tis better to endite,
And bring him to his trial?—Right.
Prevent what he designs to do,
And swear for th' state against him?‡—True.
Or whether he that is defendant,
In this case, has the better end on 't;
Who, putting in a new cross-bill,
May traverse th' action?—Better still.
Then there 's a lady too—Aye, marry.
That's easily prov'd accessary;
A widow, who by solemn vows,
Contracted to me for my spouse,
Combin'd with him to break her word,
And has abetted all—Good Lord!
Suborn'd th' aforesaid Sidrophel
To tamper with the dev'l of hell,
Who put m' into a horrid fear,
Fear of my life—Make that appear.
Made an assault with fiends and men
Upon my body—Good agen.
And kept me in a deadly fright,
And false imprisonment, all night.
Mean while they robb'd me, and my horse,
And stole my saddle—Worse and worse.
And made me mount upon the bare ridge,
T' avoid a wretcheder miscarriage.
Sir, quoth the Lawyer, not to flatter ye,
You have as good and fair a battery

---

* *Marry*, i. e. very or truly, an adverb of asseveration. Ainsworth thinks it a kind of oath, as if per Mariam—A kind of expletive without much meaning, though perhaps the pettifogger might wish to be arch on the word *marry*.

† An action of trover is an action brought for recovery of a man's goods, when wrongfully detained by another, and converted to his own use.

‡ Swear that a crime was committed by him against the public peace, or peace of the state.

As heart can wish, and need not shame
The proudest man alive to claim:
For if th' have us'd you as you say,
Marry, quoth I, God give you joy;
I wou'd it were my case, I'd give
More than I'll say, or you'll believe:
I wou'd so trounce her, and her purse,
I'd make her kneel for better or worse;
For matrimony, and hanging here,
Both go by destiny so clear,*
That you as sure may pick and choose,
As cross I win, and pile you lose:
And if I durst, I wou'd advance
As much in ready maintenance,†
As upon any case I've known;
But we that practice dare not own:
The law severely contrabands
Our taking bus'ness off men's hands;
'Tis common barratry, that bears‡
Point-blank an action 'gainst our ears,
And crops them till there is not leather,
To stick a pen in left of either;§
For which some do the summer-sault,
And o'er the bar, like tumblers, vault:‖
But you may swear at any rate,
Things not in nature, for the state;
For in all courts of justice here
A witness is not said to swear,

* See P. ii. c. i. v. 839. Ames, in his Typographical Antiquities, first edition, p. 157, mentions a book printed by Robert Wyer, 1542, entitled, Mistery of Iniquite, where we may read:

Trewly some men there be
That lyve always in great horroure,
And say it goth by destenye
To hang or wed, both hath one houre;
And whether it be, I am well sure,
Hangynge is better of the twain,
Sooner done, and shorter payne.

† Maintenance is the unlawful upholding of a cause or person, or it is the buying or obtaining pretended rights to lands.

‡ Barratry is the common and unlawful stirring up of suits or quarrels, either in court or elsewhere.

§ Most editions read *pin*, but the author's corrected copy says *pen;* it being the custom of clerks in office, and writers, to stick their pen behind their ears when they do not employ it in writing.

‖ Summer-sault, soubresaut, throwing heels over head, a feat of activity performed by tumblers. When a lawyer has been guilty of misconduct, and is not allowed to practise in the courts, he is said to be thrown over the bar.

But make oath, that is, in plain terms,
To forge whatever he affirms.
I thank you, quoth the Knight, for that,
Because 'tis to my purpose pat—
For justice, tho' she's painted blind,
Is to the weaker side inclin'd,
Like charity; else right and wrong
Cou'd never hold it out so long,
And, like blind fortune, with a sleight,
Conveys men's interest and right,
From Stiles's pocket into Nokes's,*
As easily as hocus pocus;†
Plays fast and loose, makes men obnoxious;
And clear again, like hiccius doctius.
Then whether you would take her life,
Or but recover her for your wife,
Or be content with what she has,
And let all other matters pass,
The bus'ness to the law's alone,‡
The proof is all it looks upon;
And you can want no witnesses,
To swear to any thing you please,
That hardly get their mere expenses,
By th' labour of their consciences,
Or letting out to hire their ears
To affidavit customers,
At inconsiderable values,
To serve for jurymen or tales.§
Altho' retain'd in th' hardest matters
Of trustees and administrators.
For that, quoth he, let me alone;
We 've store of such, and all our own,
Bred up and tutor'd by our teachers,
Th' ablest of all conscience-stretchers.‖
That's well, quoth he, but I should guess,
By weighing all advantages,

* Fictitious names, sometimes used in stating cases, issuing writs, &c.

† Words profanely used by jugglers, if derived, as some suppose, from hoc est corpus.

‡ A better reading perhaps is,

The bus'ness to the law's *all one.*

§ Talesmen are persons of like rank and quality with such of the principal panel as do not appear, or are challenged; and who, happening to be in court, are taken to supply their places as jurymen.

‖ Mr. Downing and Stephen Marshal, who absolved from their oaths the prisoners released at Brentford.

Your surest way is first to pitch
On Bongey for a water-witch ;*
And when y' have hang'd the conjurer,
Y' have time enough to deal with her.
In th' int'rim spare for no trepans,
To draw her neck into the banns ;
Ply her with love-letters and billets,
And bait 'em well for quirks and quillets,†
With trains t' inveigle, and surprise
Her heedless answers and replies ;
And if she miss the mouse-trap lines,
They'll serve for other by-designs ;
And make an artist understand,
To copy out her seal, or hand ;
Or find void places in the paper,
To steal in something to entrap her ;
Till, with her worldly goods and body,
Spite of her heart she has indow'd ye :
Retain all sorts of witnesses,
That ply i' th' Temple, under trees ;
Or walk the round, with knights o' th' posts,‡
About the cross-legg'd knights, their hosts ;§

---

* On Sidrophel, the reputed conjurer. The poet calls him Bongey, from a learned friar of that name, who lived in Oxford about the end of the thirteenth century, and was deemed a conjurer by the common people. "There was likewise one mother "Bongey, who, in divers books set out by authority, is registered "or chronicled by the name of the great witch of Rochester." (Grey.) For a water-witch ; for one to be tried by the water-ordeal, or perhaps,

One that told fortunes by casting urine ;

or one to whom

With urine, they flock for curing. P. ii. c. iii. v. 123.

† Subtleties. Shakspeare frequently used the word quillet. In the First Part of Henry VI. Act ii., the earl of Warwick says:

But in these quirks and quillets of the law,
Good faith, I am no wiser than a daw

And Hamlet says, when contemplating the skull of a lawyer:

Where be his quiddities now ? his quillets ? his cases ?

Quillets, in barbarous Latin, is collecta. [Quibble. quillet, quip, and quirk, have all puzzled the etymologists, and probably will continue to do so ; there is something in words beginning with *qu* wondrously baffling, as the very instrument of the critic's labors, a quill, possesses scarcely a guess at a derivation.]

‡ Witnesses who are ready to swear any thing, whether true or false.

§ These witnesses frequently plied for custom about the Temple church, where are several monuments of knights templars, who are there represented cross-legged : [as everywhere else]—

Or wait for customers between
The pillar-rows in Lincoln's-Inn ;
Where vouchers, forgers, common-bail,
And affidavit-men ne'er fail
T' expose to sale all sorts of oaths,
According to their ears and clothes,*
Their only necessary tools,
Besides the Gospel, and their souls ;†
And when ye 're furnish'd with all purveys,
I shall be ready at your service.
I would not give, quoth Hudibras,
A straw to understand a case,
Without the admirable skill
To wind and manage it at will ;
To veer, and tack, and steer a cause,
Against the weather-gage of laws ;
And ring the changes upon cases,
As plain as noses upon faces ;
As you have well instructed me,
For which you 've earn'd, here 'tis, your fee.
I long to practise your advice
And try the subtle artifice ;
To bait a letter as you bid.
As, not long after, thus he did :
For, having pump'd up all his wit,
And humm'd upon it, thus he writ.

---

their host, because nobody gives them more entertainment than these knights, and they are almost starved.

* Lord Clarendon, in his History of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 355, says, an Irishman of low condition and meanly clothed, being brought as evidence against Lord Strafford, Lieutenant of Ireland, Mr. Pym gave him money to buy a satin suit and cloak, in which equipage he appeared at the trial. The like was practised in the trial of Lord Stafford for the popish plot. See Carte's History of the Life of James Duke of Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 517. It is, I fear, sometimes practised in trials of less importance.

† When a witness swears he holds the Gospel in his right hand, and kisses it: the Gospel therefore is called his tool, by which he damns his other tool, namely, his soul.

AN HEROICAL EPISTLE

OF

HUDIBRAS TO HIS LADY.

I who was once as great as Cæsar,
Am now reduc'd to Nebuchadnezzar;*
And from as fam'd a conqueror,
As ever took degree in war,
Or did his exercise in battle,
By you turn'd out to grass with cattle.
For since I am deny'd access
To all my earthly happiness,
Am fall'n from the paradise
Of your good graces, and fair eyes;
Lost to the world, and you, I'm sent
To everlasting banishment,
Where all the hopes I had t' have won
Your heart, b'ing dash'd, will break my own.
Yet if you were not so severe
To pass your doom before you hear,
You'd find, upon my just defence,
How much y' have wrong'd my innocence.
That once I made a vow to you,
Which yet is unperform'd 'tis true;
But not because it is unpaid
'Tis violated, though delay'd.
Or if it were, it is no fault
So heinous, as you'd have it thought;
To undergo the loss of ears,
Like vulgar hackney perjurers;

* See Dan. iv. 32, 33.

Carmina qui quondam studio florente peregi
Flebilis heu mœstos cogor inire modos.
Boethius de Consol. Philosoph.

For there's a difference in the case,
Between the noble and the base;
Who always are observ'd to 've done 't
Upon as diff'rent an account;
The one for great and weighty cause,
To salve in honour ugly flaws;
For none are like to do it sooner
Than those who are nicest of their honour;
The other, for base gain and pay,
Forswear and perjure by the day,
And make th' exposing and retailing
Their souls, and consciences, a calling.
It is no scandal nor aspersion,
Upon a great and noble person,
To say, he nat'rally abhorr'd
Th' old-fashion'd trick, to keep his word,
Tho' 'tis perfidiousness and shame,
In meaner men to do the same:
For to be able to forget,
Is found more useful to the great
Than gout, or deafness, or bad eyes,
To make them pass for wond'rous wise.
But tho' the law, on perjurers,
Inflicts the forfeiture of ears,
It is not just, that does exempt
The guilty, and punish the innocent.*
To make the ears repair the wrong
Committed by th' ungovern'd tongue;
And when one member is forsworn,
Another to be cropp'd or torn.
And if you shou'd, as you design,
By course of law, recover mine,
You 're like, if you consider right,
To gain but little honour by 't.
For he that for his lady's sake
Lays down his life, or limbs, at stake,
Does not so much deserve her favour,
As he that pawns his soul to have her.
This y' have acknowledg'd I have done,
Altho' you now disdain to own;
But sentence what you rather ought
T' esteem good service than a fault.†
Besides, oaths are not bound to bear

* A better reading is—*th'* innocent.
† Sentence, that is, condemn or pass sentence upon.

That literal sense the words infer,
But, by the practice of the age,
Are to be judg'd how far th' engage;
And where the sense by custom's checkt,
Are found void, and of none effect,
For no man takes or keeps a vow,
But just as he sees others do;
Nor are they oblig'd to be so brittle,
As not to yield and bow a little:
For as best temper'd blades are found,
Before they break, to bend quite round;
So truest oaths are still most tough,
And, tho' they bow, are breaking proof.
Then wherefore should they not b' allow'd
In love a greater latitude?*
For as the law of arms approves
All ways to conquest,† so shou'd love's;
And not be ty'd to true or false,
But make that justest that prevails:
For how can that which is above
All empire, high and mighty love,‡
Submit its great prerogative,
To any other pow'r alive?
Shall love, that to no crown gives place,
Become the subject of a case?
The fundamental law of nature,
Be over-rul'd by those made after?
Commit the censure of its cause
To any, but its own great laws?
Love, that's the world's preservative,
That keeps all souls of things alive;
Controuls the mighty pow'r of fate,
And gives mankind a longer date;
The life of nature that restores
As fast as time and death devours;
To whose free gift the world does owe

---

* ——— perjuria ridet amantum
Jupiter, et ventos irrita ferre jubet.
Tib. iii. El. vii. 17.

So Callimachus, Epig. 26.

† Dolus an virtus, quis, in hoste, requirit?

‡ ——— Ἔρως δὲ τῶν θεῶν
Ἴσχυν ἔχων πλείστην, ἐπὶ τούτου δείκνυται
Διὰ τοῦτον ἐπιορκοῦσι τοὺς ἄλλους θεούς.
Menand. Frag.

Not only earth, but heaven too :*
For love's the only trade that's driven,
The interest of state in heav'n,†
Which nothing but the soul of man
Is capable to entertain.
For what can earth produce, but love,
To represent the joys above?
Or who but lovers can converse,
Like angels by the eye-discourse?
Address, and compliment by vision,
Make love, and court by intuition?
And burn in am'rous flames as fierce,
As those celestial ministers?
Then how can any thing offend,
In order to so great an end?
Or heav'n itself a sin resent,
That for its own supply was meant?
That merits, in a kind mistake,
A pardon for th' offence's sake?
Or if it did not, but the cause
Were left to th' injury of laws,
What tyranny can disapprove,
There should be equity in love?
For laws, that are inanimate,
And feel no sense of love or hate,‡
That have no passion of their own,
Nor pity to be wrought upon,
Are only proper to inflict
Revenge on criminals as strict.
But to have power to forgive,
Is empire and prerogative;
And 'tis in crowns a nobler gem
To grant a pardon, than condemn.

---

* Quæ mare navigerum, quæ terras frugiferentes
Concelebras; per te quoniam genus omne animantum
Concipitur, visitque exortum lumina solis.
Lucret. i. 3.

Quæ quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas,
Nec sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras
Exoritur, neque fit lætum, neque amabile quicquam.
Idem, i. 22.

† Waller says:

All that we know of those above,
Is, that they live and that they love

Our Saviour says, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

‡ Aristotle defined law to be, reason without passion; and despotism or arbitrary power to be, passion without reason.

Then, since so few do what they ought,
'Tis great t' indulge a well-meant fault;
For why should he who made address,
All humble ways, without success;
And met with nothing in return
But insolence, affronts, and scorn,
Not strive by wit to counter-mine,
And bravely carry his design?
He who was us'd so unlike a soldier,
Blown up with philters of love-powder;
And after letting blood, and purging,
Condemn'd to voluntary scourging;
Alarm'd with many a horrid fright,
And claw'd by goblins in the night;
Insulted on, revil'd and jeer'd,
With rude invasion of his beard;
And when your sex was foully scandal'd,
As foully by the rabble handled;
Attack'd by despicable foes,
And drubb'd with mean and vulgar blows;
And, after all, to be debarr'd
So much as standing on his guard;
When horses being spurr'd and prick'd
Have leave to kick for being kick'd?
Or why should you, whose mother-wits*
Are furnish'd with all perquisites;
That with your breeding teeth begin,
And nursing babies that lie in;
B' allow'd to put all tricks upon
Our cully sex, and we use none?
We, who have nothing but frail vows
Against your stratagems t' oppose;
Or oaths, more feeble than your own,
By which we are no less put down?†
You wound, like Parthians, while you fly,
And kill with a retreating eye;‡
Retire the more, the more we press,

* Why should you, who were sharp and witty from your infancy, who bred wit with your teeth, &c.

† That is, by which oaths of yours we are no less subdued than by your stratagems.

‡ Fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis.
Virg. Georg. iii. 31

The Parthians had the art of shooting their arrows behind them, and making their flight more destructive to the enemy than their attack. Seneca says:

Terga conversi metuenda Parthi.

To draw us into ambushes:
As pirates all false colours wear,
T' intrap th' unwary mariner;
So women, to surprise us, spread
The borrow'd flags of white and red;
Display 'em thicker on their cheeks,
Than their old grand-mothers, the Picts;
And raise more devils with their looks,
Than conjurers' less subtle books:
Lay trains of amorous intrigues,
In tow'rs, and curls, and periwigs,*
With greater art and cunning rear'd,
Than Philip Nye's thanksgiving beard;†
Prepost'rously t' entice and gain
Those to adore 'em they disdain;
And only draw 'em in to clog,
With idle names, a catalogue.‡
A lover is, the more he's brave,
T' his mistress but the more a slave;§

---

* —— tanta est quærendi cura decoris
Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Ædificat caput. Andromachen a fronte videbis
Post minor est.—— Juvenal, vi. 500

If we may judge by figures on the imperial coins, even the most expert of modern hair-dressers are far inferior in their business to the ancients.

† Nye first entered at Brazen-nose college, Oxford, and afterwards removed to Magdalen-hall. He took his degrees, and then went to Holland. In 1640 he returned home a furious Presbyterian; and was sent to Scotland to forward the covenant. He then became a strenuous preacher on the side of the Independents: was put into Dr. Featly's living at Acton, and went there every Sunday in a coach with four horses. He opposed Lilly the astrologer with great violence, and for this service was rewarded with the office of holding forth upon thanksgiving days. Wherefore

He thought upon it, and resolv'd to put
His beard into as wonderful a cut.
Butler's MS.

This preacher's beard is honored with an entire poem in Butler's Genuine Remains, published by Thyer, vol. i. p. 177. When the head of a celebrated court chaplain and preacher had been dressed in a superior style, the friseur exclaimed, with a mixture of admiration and self-applause, "I'll be hanged if any person of taste can attend to one word of the sermon to-day."

‡ To increase the list of their discarded suitors.

§ The poet may here possibly allude to some well-known characters of his time. "The Lady Dysert came to have so "much power over the Lord Lauderdale, that it lessened him "very much in the esteem of all the world; for he delivered "himself up to all her humors and passions." Burnet's History, vol. i. p. 244. Anne Clarges, at first the mistress, and afterwards the wife of General Monk, duke of Albemarle, gained the most

And whatsoever she commands,
Becomes a favour from her hands,
Which he's oblig'd t' obey, and must,
Whether it be unjust or just.
Then when he is compell'd by her
T' adventures he wou'd else forbear,
Who, with his honour, can withstand,
Since force is greater than command?
And when necessity's obey'd,
Nothing can be unjust or bad:*
And therefore, when the mighty pow'rs
Of love, our great ally, and yours,
Join'd forces not to be withstood
By frail enamour'd flesh and blood,
All I have done, unjust or ill,
Was in obedience to your will,
And all the blame that can be due
Falls to your cruelty, and you.
Nor are those scandals I confest,
Against my will and interest,
More than is daily done, of course,
By all men, when they 're under force:
Whence some, upon the rack, confess
What th' hangman and their prompters please;
But are no sooner out of pain,
Than they deny it all again.
But when the devil turns confessor,†
Truth is a crime, he takes no pleasure
To hear or pardon, like the founder
Of liars, whom they all claim under:‡
And therefore when I told him none,

---

undue influence over that intrepid commander. Though never afraid of bullets, he was often terrified by the fury of his wife.

* Necessitas non habet legem, is a known proverb.

Δεινῆς ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ἰσχύει πλέον: Euripidis Helenâ.

Pareatur necessitati, quam ne dii quidem superant.—Livy.

† Suppose we read:

——— when *a* devil turns confessor.

‡ See St. John, ch. viii. v. 44. Butler in his MS. Common place book, says:

As lyars, with long use of telling lyes,
Forget at length if they are true or false,
So those that plod on any thing too long
Know nothing whether th' are in the right or wrong,
For what are all your demonstrations else,
But to the higher powers of sense appeals;
Senses that th' undervalue and contemn
As if it lay below their wits and them

I think it was the wiser done.
Nor am I without precedent,
The first that on th' adventure went;
All mankind ever did of course,
And daily does the same, or worse.
For what romance can shew a lover,
That had a lady to recover,
And did not steer a nearer course,
To fall aboard in his amours?
And what at first was held a crime,
Has turn'd to hon'rable in time.
To what a height did infant Rome,
By ravishing of women, come?*
When men upon their spouses seiz'd,
And freely marry'd where they pleas'd,
They ne'er forswore themselves, nor ly'd,
Nor, in the mind they were in, dy'd;
Nor took the pains t' address and sue,
Nor play'd the masquerade to woo:
Disdain'd to stay for friends' consents,
Nor juggled about settlements;
Did need no licence, nor no priest,
Nor friends, nor kindred, to assist;
Nor lawyers, to join land and money
In the holy state of matrimony,
Before they settled hands and hearts,
Till alimony or death departs;†
Nor wou'd endure to stay, until
Th' had got the very bride's good-will,
But took a wise and shorter course
To win the ladies—downright force;
And justly made 'em prisoners then,
As they have, often since, us men,
With acting plays, and dancing jigs,‡

* Florus says that Romulus, wanting inhabitants for his new city, erected an asylum or sanctuary for robbers in a neighboring grove, and presently he had people in abundance. But this was a people only for an age, a colony only of males, therefore they had still to supply themselves with wives. and not obtaining them from their neighbors on a civil application, they took them by force.

† Thus printed in some editions of the Prayer Book, afterwards altered. "'till death us do part," as mentioned in a former note. Suppose we here read, according to some editions, 'Till alimony, or death *them parts*.

‡ Simulatis quippe ludis equestribus, virgines, quæ ad spectaculum venerant, præda fuere. Pretending to exhibit some fine shows and diversions, they drew together a concourse of young women, and seized them for their wives.

The ruckiest of all love's intrigues;
And when they had them at their pleasure,
They talk'd of love and flames at leisure;
For after matrimony's over,
He that holds out but half a lover,
Deserves, for ev'ry minute, more
Than half a year of love before;
For which the dames, in contemplation
Of that best way of application,
Prov'd nobler wives than e'er were known,
By suit, or treaty, to be won;*
And such as all posterity
Cou'd never equal, nor come nigh.
For women first were made for men,
Not men for them.—It follows, then,
That men have right to every one,
And they no freedom of their own;
And therefore men have pow'r to chuse,
But they no charter to refuse.
Hence 'tis apparent that what course
Soe'er we take to your amours,
Though by the indirectest way,
'Tis not injustice nor foul play;
And that you ought to take that course
As we take you, for better or worse,
And gratefully submit to those
Who you, before another, chose.
For why shou'd ev'ry savage beast
Exceed his great lord's interest?†
Have freer pow'r than he, in grace,
And nature, o'er the creature has?
Because the laws he since has made
Have cut off all the pow'r he had;
Retrench'd the absolute dominion
That nature gave him over women;
When all his pow'r will not extend
One law of nature to suspend;

* When the Sabines came with a large army to demand their daughters, and the two nations were preparing to decide the matter by fight, sævientibus intervenere raptæ, laceris comis—the women who had been carried away ran between the armies with expressions of grief, and effected a reconciliation.

† That is, man, sometimes called lord of the world:

Man of all creatures the most fierce and wild
That ever God made or the devil spoil'd:
The most courageous of men, by want,
As well as honor, are made valiant. Butler's MS.

And but to offer to repeal
The smallest clause, is to repel.
This, if men rightly understood
Their privilege, they would make good,
And not, like sots, permit their wives
T' encroach on their prerogatives,
For which sin they deserve to be
Kept, as they are, in slavery:
And this some precious gifted teachers,*
Unrev'rently reputed leachers,
And disobey'd in making love,
Have vow'd to all the world to prove,
And make ye suffer as you ought,
For that uncharitable fault:
But I forget myself, and rove
Beyond th' instructions of my love.
Forgive me, Fair, and only blame
Th' extravagancy of my flame,
Since 'tis too much, at once to show
Excess of love and temper too;
All I have said that's bad and true,
Was never meant to aim at you,
Who have so sov'reign a controul
O'er that poor slave of yours, my soul,
That, rather than to forfeit you,
Has ventur'd loss of heav'n too;
Both with an equal pow'r possest,
To render all that serve you blest;
But none like him, who's destin'd either
To have or lose you both together;
And if you'll but this fault release,
For so it must be, since you please,
I'll pay down all that vow, and more,
Which you commanded, and I swore,
And expiate, upon my skin,
Th' arrears in full of all my sin:
For 'tis but just that I should pay
Th' accruing penance for delay,
Which shall be done, until it move
Your equal pity and your love.
The Knight, perusing this Epistle,
Believ'd he 'ad brought her to his whistle;
And read it, like a jocund lover,
With great applause, t' himself, twice over;

* Mr. Case, as some have supposed, but, according to others, Dr. Burgess, or Hugh Peters.

Subscrib'd his name, but at a fit
And humble distance, to his wit:
And dated it with wondrous art,
Giv'n from the bottom of his heart;
Then seal'd it with his coat of love,
A smoking faggot—and above
Upon a scroll—I burn, and weep—
And near it—For her ladyship,
Of all her sex most excellent,
These to her gentle hands present *
Then gave it to his faithful squire,
With lessons how t' observe, and eye her.
She first consider'd which was better,
To send it back, or burn the letter:
But guessing that it might import,
Tho' nothing else, at least her sport,
She open'd it, and read it out,
With many a smile and leering flout:
Resolv'd to answer it in kind,
And thus perform'd what she design'd.

* It was fashionable before Mr. Butler's time to be prolix in the superscription of letters. Common forms were,—To my much honored friend—To the most excellent lady—To my loving cousin—These present with care and speed, &c

THE

LADY'S ANSWER

TO THE

KNIGHT.

That you 're a beast and turn'd to grass,
Is no strange news, nor ever was;
At least to me, who once, you know,
Did from the pound replevin you,*
When both your sword and spurs were won
In combat, by an Amazon;
That sword that did, like fate, determine
Th' inevitable death of vermin,
And never dealt its furious blows,
But cut the throats of pigs and cows,
By Trulla was, in single fight,
Disarm'd and wrested from its Knight,
Your heels degraded of your spurs,
And in the stocks close prisoners:
Where still they 'd lain, in base restraint,
If I, in pity of your complaint,
Had not, on hon'rable conditions,
Releast 'em from the worse of prisons;
And what return that favour met,
You cannot, tho' you wou'd, forget;
When being free, you strove t' evade,
The oaths you had in prison made;
Forsworo yourself, and first deny'd it,
But after own'd, and justify'd it:
And when y' had falsely broke one vow,
Absolv'd yourself, by breaking two.
For while you sneakingly submit,
And beg for pardon at our feet;†

* A replevin is a *re*-deliverance of the thing distrained, to remain with the first possessor on security.

† The widow, to keep up her dignity, and importance, speaks of herself in the plural number

Discourag'd by your guilty fears,
To hope for quarter, for your ears;
And doubting 'twas in vain to sue,
You claim us boldly as your due,
Declare that treachery and force,
To deal with us, is th' only course:
We have no title nor pretence
To body, soul, or conscience,
But ought to fall to that man's share
That claims us for his proper ware:
These are the motives which, t' induce,
Or fright us into love, you use;
A pretty new way of gallanting,
Between soliciting and ranting;
Like sturdy beggars, that intreat
For charity at once, and threat.
But since you undertake to prove
Your own propriety in love,
As if we were but lawful prize
In war, between two enemies,
Or forfeitures which ev'ry lover,
That would but sue for, might recover,
It is not hard to understand
The myst'ry of this bold demand,
That cannot at our persons aim,
But something capable of claim.*
'Tis not those paltry counterfeit,
French stones, which in our eyes you set,
But our right diamonds, that inspire
And set your am'rous hearts on fire;
Nor can those false St. Martin's beads†
Which on our lips you lay for reds,
And make us wear like Indian dames,‡
Add fuel to your scorching flames,
But those two rubies of the rock
Which in our cabinets we lock.
'Tis not those orient pearls, our teeth,§

* Their property.

† That is, artificial jewels. How they came to be called Saint Martin's beads I know not; unless from St. Martino near mount Vesuvius, where the ejected lava is collected and applied to this purpose. Mr. Montague Bacon says, that at Rochelle, not far from St. Martin's, there is a sort of red stones called St. Martin's beads.

‡ Female savages in many parts of the globe wear ornaments of fish bone, or glass when they can get it, on their lips and noses.

§ In the History of Don Fenise, a romance translated from the

That you are so transported with,
But those we wear about our necks,
Produce those amorous effects.
Nor is 't those threads of gold, our hair,
The periwigs you make us wear;
But those bright guineas in our chests,
That light the wildfire in your breasts.
These love-tricks I've been vers'd in so,
That all their sly intrigues I know,
And can unriddle, by their tones,
Their mystic cabals, and jargones;
Can tell what passions, by their sounds,
Pine for the beauties of my grounds;
What raptures fond and amorous,
O' th' charms and graces of my house;
What extasy and scorching flame,
Burns for my money in my name;
What from th' unnatural desire,
To beasts and cattle, takes its fire;
What tender sigh, and trickling tear,
Longs for a thousand pounds a year;
And languishing transports are fond
Of statute, mortgage, bill, and bond.*
These are th' attracts which most men fall
Enamour'd, at first sight, withal:
To these th' address with serenades,
And court with balls and masquerades;
And yet, for all the yearning pain
Ye've suffer'd for their loves in vain,
I fear they'll prove so nice and coy,
To have, and t' hold, and to enjoy;

Spanish of Francisco de las Coveras, and printed 1656, mentioned by Dr. Grey, p. 269, is the following passage: "My covetous-"ness exceeding my love, counselled me that it was better to "have gold money than in threads of hair; and to possess pearls "that resemble teeth, than teeth that were like pearls."

> In praising Chloris, moons, and stars, and skies,
> Are quickly made to match her face and eyes;
> And gold and rubies, with as little care,
> To fit the colour of her lips and hair:
> And mixing suns, and flow'rs, and pearl, and stones,
> Make them serve all complections at once:
> With these fine fancies at hap-hazard writ,
> I could make verses without art or wit.
>
> Butler's Remains, v. i. p. 88.

* Statute is a short writing called Statute Marchant, or Statute Staple, in the nature of a bond, &c., made according to the form expressly provided in certain statutes, 5th Hen. iv. c. 12, and others.

That all your oaths and labour lost,
They'll ne'er turn ladies of the post.*
This is not meant to disapprove
Your judgment, in your choice of love,
Which is so wise, the greatest part
Of mankind study 't as an art;
For love shou'd, like a deodand,
Still fall to th' owner of the land;†
And where there's substance for its ground,
Cannot but be more firm and sound,‡
Than that which has the slighter basis
Of airy virtue, wit, and graces;
Which is of such thin subtlety,
It steals and creeps in at the eye,
And, as it can't endure to stay,
Steals out again, as nice a way.§
But love, that its extraction owns
From solid gold and precious stones,
Must, like its shining parents, prove
As solid, and as glorious love.
Hence 'tis you have no way t' express
Our charms and graces but by these;
For what are lips, and eyes, and teeth,‖
Which beauty invades and conquers with,
But rubies, pearls, and diamonds,
With which, a philter love commands?¶
This is the way all parents prove,
In managing their children's love;

---

* That is, will never swear for you, or vow to take you for a husband.

† Any moving thing which occasions the death of a man is forfeited to the lord of the manor. It was originally intended that he should dispose of it in acts of charity; hence the name deodand. Or it is a thing given, or rather forfeited to God, for the pacification of his wrath, in case of misadventure, whereby any Christian man cometh to a violent end, without the fault of any reasonable creature. Lewis XIV. and others born of mothers that had long been barren, were called Adeodati.

‡ Optima sed quare Cesennia teste marito?
Bis quingenta dedit, tanti vocat ille pudicam;
Nec Veneris pharetris macer est; aut lampade fervet:
Inde faces ardent, veniunt a dote sagittæ.
Juvenal. vi. 135.

§ Farquhar has this thought in his dialogue between Archer and Cherry. See the Beaux Stratagem.

‖ τίνι δεδούλωταί ποτε;
Ὄψει; φλύαρία.——Menand. Fragm.

¶ Suppose we read, as in some editions,

With which as philters love commands.

That force 'em t' intermarry and wed,
As if th' were burying of the dead;
Cast earth to earth, as in the grave,
To join in wedlock all they have,
And, when the settlement 's in force,
Take all the rest for better or worse;
For money has a pow'r above
The stars, and fate, to manage love,*
Whose arrows, learned poets hold,
That never miss, are tipp'd with gold.†
And tho' some say, the parents' claims
To make love in their children's names,‡
Who, many times, at once provide
The nurse, the husband, and the bride,
Feel darts and charms, attracts and flames,
And woo, and contract, in their names,
And as they christen, use to marry 'em;
And, like their gossips, answer for 'em;
Is not to give in matrimony,
But sell and prostitute for money.
'Tis better than their own betrothing,
Who often do 't for worse than nothing;
And when they 're at their own dispose,
With greater disadvantage choose.
All this is right; but, for the course
You take to do 't, by fraud or force,
'Tis so ridiculous, as soon
As told, 'tis never to be done,§

---

* Et genus et formam regina Pecunia donat,
Ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.
Hor. Epist. lib. i. vi. 37.

Ἐγὼ δ' ὑπέλαβον χρησίμους εναι θεοὺς
Τ' ἀργύριον ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ χρυσίον μόνον.——
Menand. Frag

† In Ovid's Metamorphoses, i. 468, Cupid employs two arrows, one of gold, and the other of lead: the former causing love, the latter aversion.

Eque sagittifera prompsit duo tela pharetra
Diversorum operum: fugat hoc, facit illud amorem.
Quod facit auratum est, et cuspide fulget acuta:
Quod fugat obtusum est, et habet sub arundine plumbum.

‡ Though it is thus printed in all the copies I have seen, yet *claim* and *name* should seem a better reading, to avoid false concord: for *claim* is the nominative case to *Is* in verse 143.

§ See P. i. c. ii. l. 676:

Shall dictum factum both be brought
To condign punishment.

No more than setters can betray,*
That tell what tricks they are to play.
Marriage, at best, is but a vow,
Which all men either break or bow;
Then what will those forbear to do,
Who perjure when they do but woo?
Such as beforehand swear and lie,
For earnest to their treachery,
And rather than a crime confess,
With greater strive to make it less:
Like thieves, who, after sentence past,
Maintain their inn'cence to the last;
And when their crimes were made appear,
As plain as witnesses can swear,
Yet when the wretches come to die,
Will take upon their death a lie.
Nor are the virtues you confess'd
T' your ghostly father, as you guess'd,
So slight as to be justify'd,
By being as shamefully deny'd;
As if you thought your word would pass,
Point-blank on both sides of a case;
Or credit were not to be lost
B' a brave knight-errant of the post,
That eats perfidiously his word,
And swears his ears thro' a two-inch board:†
Can own the same thing, and disown,
And perjure booty pro and con;
Can make the Gospel serve his turn,
And help him out to be forsworn;
When 'tis laid hands upon, and kist,
To be betray'd and sold, like Christ.
These are the virtues in whose name
A right to all the world you claim,
And boldly challenge a dominion,
In grace and nature, o'er all women;
Of whom no less will satisfy,
Than all the sex, your tyranny:

* Setter, a term frequent in the comedies of the last century: sometimes it seems to be a pimp, sometimes a spy, but most usually an attendant on a cheating gamester, who introduces unpractised youths to be pillaged by him; what a setting dog is to a sportsman.

† That is, endeavors to shield himself from the punishment due to perjury, the loss of his ears, by a desperate perseverance in false swearing. A person is said to swear through a two-inch board, when he makes oath of any thing which was concealed from him by a thick door or partition.

Altho' you'll find it a hard province,
With all your crafty frauds and covins,*
To govern such a num'rous crew,
Who, one by one, now govern you;
For if you all were Solomons,
And wise and great as he was once,
You'll find they're able to subdue,
As they did him, and baffle you.
And if you are impos'd upon,
'Tis by your own temptation done:
That with your ignorance invite,
And teach us how to use the slight.
For when we find y're still more taken
With false attracts of our own making,
Swear that's a rose, and that's a stone,
Like sots, to us that laid it on,
And what we did but slightly prime,
Most ignorantly daub in rhyme;
You force us, in our own defences,
To copy beams and influences;
To lay perfections on the graces,
And draw attracts upon our faces;
And, in compliance to your wit,
Your own false jewels counterfeit:
For, by the practice of those arts,
We gain a greater share of hearts;
And those deserve in reason most,
That greatest pains and study cost;
For great perfections are, like heav'n,
Too rich a present to be giv'n:
Nor are those master-strokes of beauty
To be perform'd without hard duty,
Which, when they're nobly done, and well,
The simple natural excel.
How fair and sweet the planted rose,†

* Covin is a term of law, signifying a deceitful compact between two or more, to deceive or prejudice others.

† This and the following lines are beautiful. Mr. Bacon supposes that the poet alludes to Milton, when he says:

Though paradise were e'er so fair,
It was not kept so without care.

The moral sense of the passage may be found in Horace, lib. iv. O. 4:

Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam
Rectique cultus pec ora roborant.

And the sweetness of the verse in Catull. Carm. Nuptial. 39, &c.:

Beyond the wild in hedges grows!
For, without art, the noblest seeds
Of flowers degenerate into weeds:
How dull and rugged, ere 'tis ground,
And polish'd, looks a diamond?
Though paradise were e'er so fair,
It was not kept so without care.
The whole world, without art and dress,
Would be but one great wilderness;
And mankind but a savage herd,
For all that nature has conferr'd:
This does but rough-hew and design,
Leaves art to polish and refine.
Though women first were made for men,
Yet men were made for them agen:
For when, out-witted by his wife,
Man first turn'd tenant but for life,*
If woman had not interven'd,
How soon had mankind had an end!
And that it is in being yet,
To us alone you are in debt.
Then where's your liberty of choice,
And our unnatural no-voice?
Since all the privilege you boast,
And falsely usurp'd, or vainly lost,
Is now our right, to whose creation
You owe your happy restoration.
And if we had not weighty cause
To not appear in making laws,
We cou'd, in spite of all your tricks,
And shallow formal politics,
Force you our managements t' obey,
As we to yours, in shew, give way.
Hence 'tis, that while you vainly strive
T' advance your high prerogative,
You basely, after all your braves,
Submit and own yourselves our slaves;
And 'cause we do not make it known,
Nor publicly our int'rests own,
Like sots, suppose we have no shares
In ord'ring you, and your affairs,

Ut flos in septis nascitur hortis,
Ignotus pecori, nullo contusus aratro,
Quem mulcent auræ, firmat sol, educat imber.

* i. e. When man became subject to death by eating the forbidden fruit at the persuasion of the woman.

When all your empire, and command,
You have from us, at second hand;
As if a pilot, that appears
To sit still only, while he steers,
And does not make a noise and stir,
Like ev'ry common mariner,
Knew nothing of the chart, nor star,
And did not guide the man of war;
Nor we, because we don't appear
In councils, do not govern there:
While, like the mighty Prester John,
Whose person none dares look upon,*
But is preserv'd in close disguise,
From b'ing made cheap to vulgar eyes,
W' enjoy as large a pow'r unseen,
To govern him, as he does men:
And, in the right of our Pope Joan,
Make emp'rors at our feet fall down:
Or Joan de Pucelle's braver name,
Our right to arms and conduct claim;
Who, tho' a spinster, yet was able
To serve France for a grand constable.
We make and execute all laws,
Can judge the judges, and the cause:
Prescribe all rules of right or wrong,
To th' long robe, and the longer tongue,
'Gainst which the world has no defence,
But our more pow'rful eloquence.
We manage things of greatest weight
In all the world's affairs of state;
Are ministers of war and peace,
That sway all nations how we please.
We rule all churches, and their flocks,
Heretical and orthodox,

* The name or title of Prester John, has been given by travellers to the king of Tenduc in Asia, who, like the Abyssine, or Ethiopian emperors, preserved great state, and did not condescend to be seen by his subjects above twice or three times a year. Mandeville, who pretends to have travelled over Prester John's country, and is very prolix on the subject, makes him sovereign of an archipelago of isles in India beyond Bactria, and says that, "A former emperor travelled into Egypt, where being "present at divine service, he asked who those persons were "that stood before the bishop? And being told they should be "priests, he said, he would no more be called king, nor emperor, "but priest; and would have the name of him that came first "out of the priests, and was called John, and so have all the "emperors since been called Prester John."—Cap. 99.

And are the heavenly vehicles
O' th' spirits in all conventicles:*
By us is all commerce and trade
Improv'd, and manag'd, and decay'd:
For nothing can go off so well,
Nor bears that price, as what we sell.
We rule in ev'ry public meeting,
And make men do what we judge fitting;†
Are magistrates in all great towns,
Where men do nothing but wear gowns.
We make the man of war strike sail,
And to our braver conduct veil,
And, when he 'as chas'd his enemies,
Submit to us upon his knees.
Is there an officer of state,
Untimely rais'd, or magistrate,
That's haughty and imperious?
He's but a journeyman to us,
That, as he gives us cause to do't,
Can keep him in, or turn him out.
We are your guardians, that increase,
Or waste your fortunes how we please;
And, as you humour us, can deal
In all your matters, ill or well.
'Tis we that can dispose alone,
Whether your heirs shall be your own;
To whose integrity you must,
In spite of all your caution, trust;
And, less you fly beyond the seas,
Can fit you with what heirs we please;
And force you t' own them, tho' begotten
By French valets, or Irish footmen.
Nor can the rigorousest course
Prevail, unless to make us worse;
Who still, the harsher we are us'd,
Are further off from h'ing reduc'd;
And scorn t' abate, for any ills,
The least punctilio of our wills,
Force does but whet our wits t' apply
Arts, born with us, for remedy,
Which all your politics, as yet,

* As good vehicles at least as the cloak-bag, which was said to have conveyed the same from Rome to the council of Trent.

† A great part of what is here said on the political influence of women, was aimed at the court of Charles II., or perhaps at the wife of General Monk.

Have ne'er been able to defeat:
For, when ye 've try'd all sorts of ways,
What fools do we make of you in plays?
While all the favours we afford,
Are but to gird you with the sword,
To fight our battles in our steads,
And have your brains beat out o' your heads;
Encounter, in despite of nature,
And fight, at once, with fire and water,
With pirates, rocks, and storms, and seas,
Our pride and vanity t' appease;
Kill one another, and cut throats,
For our good graces, and best thoughts;
To do your exercise for honour,
And have your brains beat out the sooner;
Or crack'd, as learnedly, upon
Things that are never to be known:
And still appear the more industrious,
The more your projects are prepost'rous,
To square the circle of the arts,
And run stark mad to shew your parts;
Expound the oracle of laws,
And turn them which way we see cause;
Be our solicitors, and agents,
And stand for us in all engagements.
And these are all the mighty pow'rs
You vainly boast to cry down ours;
And what in real value's wanting,
Supply with vapouring and ranting:
Because yourselves are terrify'd,
And stoop to one another's pride:
Believe we have as little wit
To be out-hector'd, and submit:
By your example, lose that right
In treaties, which we gain'd in fight:*
And terrify'd into an awe,
Pass on ourselves a salique law;†

* England, in every period of her history, has been thought more successful in war than in negotiation. Congreve, reflecting upon queen Anne's last ministry, in his Epistle to Lord Cobham, says:

Be far that guilt, be never known that shame,
That Britain should retract her rightful claim,
Or stain with pen the triumphs of her sword!

† The salique law debars the succession of females to some inheritances. Thus knights' fees, or lands holden of the crown by knights' service, are in some parts, as the learned Selden ob

Or, as some nations use, give place,
And truckle to your mighty race:
Let men usurp th' unjust dominion,
As if they were the better women.*

serves, terræ salicæ: males only are allowed to inherit such lands, because the females cannot perform the services for which they are granted. See Selden's notes on the seventeenth song of Drayton's Polyolbion. The French have extended this law to the inheritance of the crown itself. See Shakspeare, Henry V., Act i. scene ii.

* The Lady concludes with great spirit: but it may be that the influence of the sex has not been much overrated by her. Aristophanes hath two entire plays to demonstrate, ironically, the superiority of the female sex. See v. 538 of the Lysistrata.

In Butler's Common-place Book, are the following lines under the article *Nature* and Art:

The most divine of all the works of nature
Was not to make the model, but the matter:
A man may build without design and rules
But not without materials and tools:
This lady, like a fish's row, had room
For such a shoal of infants in her womb:
The truest glasses naturally misplace
The lineaments and features of her face,
The right and left still counterchange,
And in the rooms of one another range;
Nature denies brute animals expression,
Because they are incapable of reason.

Precious stones not only do foretell
The dire effects of poison, but repel
When no one person's able t' understand
The vast stupendous uses of the hand;
The only engine helps the wit of man,
To bring the world in compass of a span:
From raising mighty fabrics on the seas,
To filing chains to fit the necks of fleas,
The left hand is but deputy to the right,
That for a journeyman is wont t' employ 't

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Presbyterians

"Such as do build their faith upon
The holy text of pike and gun;
Decide all controversy by
Infallible artillery;
And prove their doctrine orthodox
By apostolic blows and knocks."

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Hudibras